THE EMPIRE CLUB

ADDRESSES 1957-1958

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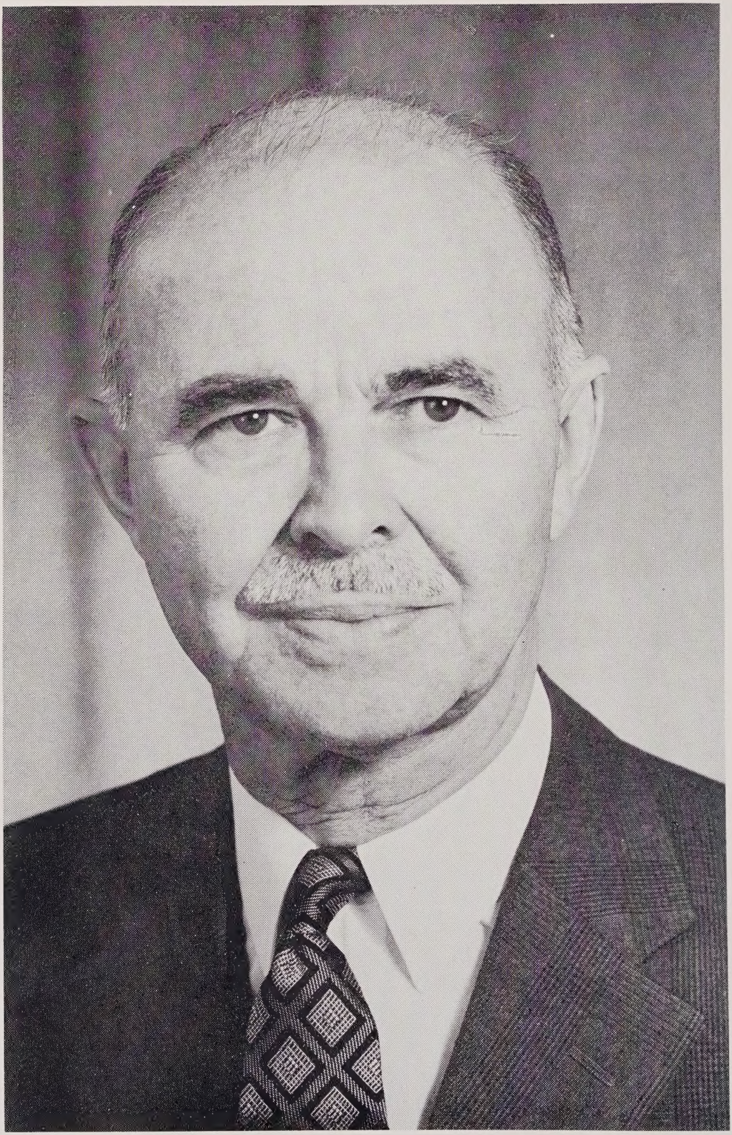

LT.-COL. W. H. MONTAGUE, O.B.E., E.D.
President of the Empire Club of Canada
1957-1958

THE EMPIRE CLUB
OF CANADA

Addresses 1957-1958

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

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Fifty-fifth year of Issue

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EXCERPT FROM "ORIGIN AND OBJECTS OF THE EMPIRE CLUB" PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR BOOK FOR 1903-1904

On November 18th, 1903, a small meeting was held in Webb's Restaurant, Toronto, mainly on the initiative of Lieut.-Col. James Mason, for the purpose of preliminary discussion. The Chairman in a brief speech pointed to the desirability of an organization, following the plan of weekly luncheons, to be addressed by prominent men, or men speaking with authority upon the issues of the day, and having also a distinctive basis of British Unity in its work and policy.

A sub-Committee met on the following day and appointed . . . . . a Committee to draft a Constitution.

The meeting at which these principles and rules were approved and organization effected was held at the Luncheon hour on November 25th, in Webb's Restaurant, with some seventy gentlemen present . . . . after a discussion of various proposed names . . . . The Empire Club of Canada . . . . was approved by a large majority.

THE ROYAL EMPIRE SOCIETY
AND
THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

The Royal Empire Society of London, England, and The Empire Club of Canada at Toronto were both founded for a single purpose and with a common aim:—The strengthening of the bonds of unity within the Empire. This mutual objective is prosecuted with vigorous enthusiasm by the members of these organizations on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

The opinions and views expressed in the Addresses contained in this volume are those of the speakers themselves and do not necessarily carry the full or partial endorsement of The Empire Club of Canada.

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

"KOREA—TODAY"

An Address by

DR. RICHARD F. BROWN
Director of Public Health for the United Nations (U.N.O.E.C.) in Korea

Thursday, October 3, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: Since last we met ten valued members have been called to their reward, including two Past Presidents, namely, the late Mr. W. Eason Humphreys, who was President in 1933-34, and the late Mr. R. A. (Dick) Stapells, who occupied the chair in 1919, and who endeared himself to so many by continuing his club activities through the years untill ill health made this impossible. May they rest in peace.

Today offers us a welcome opportunity to become better informed on some important aspects of the current situation in South Korea—a Far Eastern country which not so long ago was receiving front page attention in the daily press.

Few are as well qualified to accomplish this for us as our guest speaker, Dr. Richard F. Brown, who left there only last June after six years' service as Chief of Preventive Medicine for the United Nations Organization. Dr. Brown has had over twenty years of varied experience in the Far East. He speaks Chinese and Japanese and is considered an authority on oriental ceremony, superstitions and art. He has lectured to the Royal Asiatic Society.

Dr. Brown's colourful background should be particularly intriguing to any of us who are inclined to be "stay-at-homes". Coming to Canada from the United Kingdom at an early age, he commenced his education here. He served as a soldier in World War I for some three and a half years, being one of the youngest members of the 134th Battalion, Canadian Highlanders, C.E.F.

He attended Trinity College and graduated from the University of Toronto as an M.D. in 1928. Later in 1943 he secured his diploma in Public Health from the University of Toronto. Meanwhile, he had been awarded a Rockefeller Fellowship in Union Medical College and had spent fifteen years in China.

During World War II he served with the R.A.M.C. as Deputy Director of Medical Services in Burma, India and China.

From 1948 to 1951 he was Regional Medical Officer with General McArthur, attached to Supreme Command—Allied Powers in Japan. He was the only Canadian in the Health and Welfare Section.

Dr. Brown was posted to South Korea in 1951 with the special mission of the prevention of disease, starvation and unrest. He might well be described as "an old Far East hand" who when he is "at home" can be found at Caulfield, B.C.

He will address us on "Korea—Today", with emphasis on the United Nations Rehabilitation Program there. It is with the greatest of pleasure that I introduce Dr. Richard F. Brown.

DR. BROWN: Mr. President, and Gentlemen: I assure you it is a great pleasure for me to be here today, not only to address you here but also to be back home in Canada. I almost enter Canada now as an immigrant. I left in 1928, after graduating from the University of Toronto, with a short internship in New York and a year in Ophthalmology in London, and I went directly to China. From then on I have only been in Canada for six months or three months at a time.

But today it is very difficult to credit what is happening in Korea today. Had I been in Korea for six days or two weeks, like many people, I could have told a lot about Korea. I could have told about the people and the political situation, I could have written a book.

Fortunately, I went in 1951 on sixty days, temporary duty, and it turned out to be six years and two months from the time I left.

Korea, as you know, does not make headlines today. Wars and conflicts make headlines. Poverty, rehabilitation and political turmoil—I don't see much in the Canadian news or in the European papers, about these problems. But the Koreans today are very much alive to the problems that confront them and I want to say, with a great deal of emphasis that in my own opinion the problems in Korea today are not oriental problems, they are not Korean problems. They could be settled over night. The problems in Korea are very much the same as the problems the world over. They are due to changing conditions and world development in which the Koreans have been caught up. They are essentially a backward oriental nation, but they have the backing of not only the United Nations, but also the Americans, and that has made it very difficult to rehabilitate in the terms of what many Americans would like to do.

A Korean told me just before I left Korea . . . he had all the money he wanted . . . he turned to me and said, "You know, I don't think Korea can afford to be rehabilitated." And I think it is a very good saying, referring to the way some of the friends to the south would like to rehabilitate Korea.

The Koreans are fiercely independent. They love to sing and they are very good singers. They love to drink and they are quite good drinkers. They love to fight. They are very difficult to deal with on a governmental level.

At the present time the President is Syngman Rhee. I don't know what the Press will think of what I say, but he is not a good friend of mine. I know him very well. He is rather old and he is surrounded by the Army. That is the army is in complete control of Korea today.

In the early days in Korea, when they thought the war was over, in 1950, the United Nations moved in under the name of U.N.O.E.C. of Korea. At the time we moved in we were in conflict with the American Army. The Army wanted to do the rehabilitation. This went on for six months. It had been decided as soon as hostilities ceased that the Army would take over.

Hostilities never ceased, so UNKRA, which is the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agencies, which is a United Nation Organization, moved in. The rehabilitation programs of Korea are such that they need a number of divisions, one of which was Health and Welfare, one of which was Economics, one of which was Power Stations, and another was Agriculture.

I was appointed Chief of Preventive Medicine as you have been told, with a mission of prevention of disease, starvation and unrest. It was essentially a task of preventing disease and assisting the numerous refugees coming from the north to settle in the south.

Under that organization there were seventeen doctors, representing eleven countries. At the time there were two Canadians. You may be interested to know that both Chiefs of Preventive Medicine were graduates of the University of Toronto—Dr. Stewart and myself. Dr. Stewart remained a very short time. He came over with the World Health Organization, and when the amalgamation took place he decided to come back home.

We had two doctors from Mexico, two French doctors, doctors from all the countries represented. We had a Portuguese doctor and eleven different nationalities. You can imagine the difficulty in coordinating the doctors. Some did not even speak the language. We had two Greek doctors. When one Greek doctor arrived he didn't understand a world of English, and we didn't understand a word of Greek, and the Koreans didn't understand either English or Greek. It was very difficult, so we sent him to school for six months to catch up—and he had to give up.

In 1951 the army was very much concerned with the amount of disease and the exposure of the United Nations troops. In 1951 we had something like 53,000 cases of smallpox, with 7,000 deaths. We had something like 32,000 typhus cases—not all diagnosed as typhus, and with a high death rate. There was a large amount of typhoid. One of the first tasks was to get the disease under control and it was done by a mass immunization program. In that year, it was almost incredible, but with a population of 21 million we actually vaccinated 32 million people. Some were done twice . . . we just grabbed them wherever we could.

However, last year there was not one single case of smallpox in the whole of Korea.

This program has continued. The program now is being taken over by the schools and the Koreans have passed a law themselves, making vaccination compulsory before going to school and in the first three years of school up to the twelfth year. That is what is done each year in Korea.

I can say the same of typhus and typhoid. In the early days we would hold little seminars or demonstrations for the United Nations doctors who had never seen a case of typhus in their lives. We had Generals and Captains in the American Army, and in the British Army and a few Canadians, too, and we would collect these cases of typhus and bring them down to show and demonstrate the treatment for typhus, smallpox and typhoid. One of the outstanding things of that program was the immunization program.

In June, the United Nations were actually running 112 hospitals, directly under the control of the United Nations, having been supplied by the United Nations with beds, clothing, drugs, blankets. The hospitals, as were our doctors, were divided into eleven provinces and areas, with a doctor in each one, and two in headquarters, I would go around, all through the country, running the 112 hospitals.

It was also a great surprise to the troops to know the number of leprosy cases. In Korea at the time I left, there were 45,000 lepers. I call them lepers . . . I am always checked up because there is no such thing as a leper . . . they are lepers to me. There were 45,000 registered in nine leprosariums, and there are something like 100,000 not in institutions.

Just recently one of our doctors, an English doctor, Dr. Michael Smith, who was with the United Nations up to June, and now with the International Leprosy Association, attempted to coordinate control of the leprosy situation in Korea.

The United Nations also provided nine preventoriums for children. Leprosy, of course, as you medical men know, and I am quite convinced, is a disease of childhood. It is a pediatrician's job to detect the disease in childhood, to get them when they are young, and take them out of school and treat them.

Again, and this was another conflict in the Army, we ran 92 venereal disease centres. Everyone—the Generals, the Majors, the Colonels wanted a conference on the high V.D. rate. We used to have great battles, with the army, and especially with the Americans. They would call a Conference on Venereal Disease and in ten minutes it would be turned into a Prostitutes Conference. They wanted prostitute control, they wanted clean prostitutes. We said there is no such thing as a clean prostitute, what you want is more V.D. control in the troops. We had terrific battles with the army. Some of the doctors had to leave Korea because they talked up to some of the army officials and wanted to reduce the rate.

I could tell many stories about that campaign. Let me tell you that the Koreans themselves were quite free of venereal disease before the United Nations' troops descended into Korea.

At the present time there are something like 55,000 Eurasian children left in Korea, looking for homes. That doesn't take into account the number that have already found homes in the United States. It is exceedingly difficult to get homes for coloured children and there are a good many in Korea, I assure you.

Another very interesting phase of our program is the reconstruction program that is taking place outside the public health field entirely.

But I would like before I leave the health field, to mention another name as one who contributed a great deal to the Canadian effort, and that is Miss Helen MacArthur, of our Canadian Red Cross.

I am very much opposed to putting a name on aid. I loathe seeing a "Norwegian Hospital", being supported by United Nations. I don't like to see a tuberculosis institution organized by one country one year and then dropped. I would like to see all aid under United Nations aid. Our own Canadian children under our Red Cross, and I am afraid this has had very little publicity, contributed $81,000 toward the tuberculosis program in Korea. Our Canadian children through the Canadian Branch of the Red Cross were responsible for the organization of a Tuberculosis Home for children and orphans, chiefly Eurasian children. I understand they are still continuing to support that institution in a teaching capacity. I think our Canadian children should be very proud of the contribution they have made. I am sorry they have had so little thanks and so little publicity.

I feel very strongly that aid in Korea should be a United Nations effort. When I left Korea I had the choice of staying. United Nations is pulling out. Most of the doctors have gone. There was only one left and he has probably gone since I left. I had the choice of staying but I said, No, I would not work under the conditions. It is being taken over entirely by the Americans in an advertising program. I do not believe in giving aid to any country and planting a flag on top and surrounding the aid by certain restrictions and then calling it Aid. That is not aid. The Americans say they want more advertising, more publicity for what they are doing. They say the United Nations doctors, including myself, the French and the Portuguese, do not give enough credit to what the Americans have done. That may be, but I feel very strongly that any big power when they wish to give aid should give it from a humanitarian point of view. It should be given as aid and not for advertising purposes.

I don't think any great power needs publicity stunts. I don't think any great power needs advertising.

It was my misfortune to attend a ceremony in Pusan. Senator Knowland was there. . . . He came there purposely in advance, to receive a ship that was coming over. They kept the dock closed off for one and a half days. They had bands playing and flags waving. Nobody could use the road. The Koreans and the Americans were lined up—just for a show to see a ship come in with aid for Korea. And it was probably a good bet that it was United Nations aid.

I also read in the papers about another publicity stunt one day. It took place in Amman. I was there about six weeks ago. They had actually erected a grandstand and had floodlights to show the arrival of American aid by plane to Jordan.

I don't know whether you call it aid or a publicity stunt. To me, it is a pure publicity stunt. I, as of the United Nations, want nothing to do with it. I felt very strongly that aid should be given from a charitable reason, and great nations and great powers should use diplomacy, charity and love when they see fellow countrymen in distress.

In Korea it wasn't all hard work. Korea is a very beautiful country. As you know, the sad division in Korea is responsible for a lot of the trouble there. The area south of Seoul was formerly known as the bread basket of Korea. You get the lovely valleys and plains and very good roads. They export rice for money.

In the north of Korea you get the coal mines and the tungsten mines and the metal mines, and also practically the only water power is in North Korea.

One of the United Nations problems was to re-establish and rebuild the Wonsan Dam. That was a five mile project, ready to be opened this year.

But travelling around the country, one of the greatest difficulties for the medical man is to reconcile the uneducated Koreans and the doctors in Korea. Some who are not doctors give treatment: many of the nurses have never given treatment. There are 520 public health districts and we did run 125 dispensaries all through Korea. That was a United Nations effort. I have had my troubles with those two. I was called once to Mokpo, which is a port on the coast because they were using and demanding a great deal of morphine. I had to go down to see why they wanted all the morphine.

When I asked them why they were using so much morphine, they looked at me as though I were completely stupid. They said, "Don't you know Mokpo is a seaport." They were trying to push the case for more morphine and they said, "Wherever there is a seaport there are a lot of sailors."

I said, "What is the connection between the seaport and sailors, and the morphine you are using?"

They said, "Well, the sailors that come in have got scabies."

I said, "And what is the connection between the sailors and scabies and the morphine?"

They said, "Don't you know the morphine stops the itch?"

It is very difficult to deal with these people. There are a lot of supplies, very modern supplies, like auremycin and terramycin, and the Koreans use them for almost anything. They use them for coughs and colds, and it is very difficult to tell them that they are dangerous drugs to use. That is one of the trials and tribulations of the doctors working there, having these people with old heads using drugs that they are not capable of using.

Also, if you don't know, I want to make quite clear that Korea is still an oriental country in respect to superstition. I have collected a large number and I have actually seen what they do. In the springtime we always have trouble with dogs. No foreigner can keep a dog because the Koreans believe they are very good for tuberculosis.

Our last experience with a dog was a very sad one. We had a little dog in Japan. My wife came over last December. Wives were not allowed in previously. In the rush the little dog had not been vaccinated and it had to stay in Japan for six weeks. It cost a lot of money. We had him for two weeks and he was so fat and lovely. Then he disappeared and he probably went to somebody for tuberculosis treatment.

I actually had working with me a nurse who had taken a year of graduate training in the University of Toronto. You would expect that she would know better. She had a husband who was a suspected T.B. We helped her a great deal. Her husband was supposed to be a Presbyterian Minister. . . . He had a church but couldn't work. One day some of the Koreans came to me in great distress and said that Mrs. So-and-So last night paid $25.00 for a dog and in a ceremony gave it to her husband for T.B. treatment.

I was furious and said, "Is that all we have done after two or three years teaching? They are just going back to their own treatment." I called her in and actually she had done this. You can imagine how distressing it is to work with these people and find after that time that is all the progress you have made.

On the other hand, there are some very, very good Korean doctors, and I couldn't pay too high a tribute to some of the missionary hospitals, particularly, Severance Hospital, and the hospital in Seoul, supported by our own United Church of Canada. Dr. Struthers is on the staff. At 71 he went out and got married and left Korea. I hope he is going back. We had another Canadian doctor, Dr. Frank Murray, from Nova Scotia.

They are very discouraged at the trend in Korea. Korea is an oriental country and they are trying to follow western methods, based entirely upon western aid. When it ceases, of course something will happen.

Through the American General Robertson, the United Nations, also the United Nations troops, donated half a million dollars which was a large sum in those days to build a T.B. Chest Clinic in Seoul. They dallied so long that by the time they got the foundation in the cost was up to $800,000. That is partly completed now but one of the big problems in Korea today is T.B. There has never been a true census taken of the actual cases but they quote something like 4.5 million of T.B. cases, of which 600,000 are in immediate need of hospitalization. I think when we left Korea there was something like 2,000 beds available for T.B. cases. As a result, the United Nations has stepped in with an amount of money to establish and control ambulatory treatment for the unfortunate T.B. people. I think at the time I left there was something like 82 ambulatory treatments for T.B.

I have dwelt largely on the medical side because that was my particular field. There has been a great deal done, probably too much done in rehabilitation, or what is called rehabilitation, which the Koreans themselves cannot handle. At the present time they are building two large fertilizer plants, to cost five million dollars. The cost has now gone up to eleven million. They were supposed to have been completed last year. When I left they were still not completed. A lot of the so-called aid to Korea is syphoned back into those firms who take on the private contract to build things such as the fertilizer plants. The unfortunate farmers that I went around and talked to were not the least enthused about the fertilizer. They said, "We can get fertilizer from Japan, we can get fertilizer from Germany, and we can get it shipped in from other countries for one-third the price it will cost when the fertilizer plant is completed."

Those are some of the problems you have from the outside when you are letting out contracts for rehabilitation.

We have the same problem in the cement factories. There are three large cement factories being built, one by a Scandinavian firm, which will also run to five and six million.

They have somthing like five power plants completed for South Korea and at any time the North Koreans can cut them off. When you realize that Seoul is less than twenty-five miles from probably the most powerful Communist armies and guns in the world, it makes you shudder to think what would happen over night if they should march again.

I, myself, have a great deal of confidence in what Korea can do. I feel very strongly, that the Koreans could do far more for themselves than they are doing. It is another question to bring these people up to Western standards from where they were.

You still see the fields being ploughed by oxen. Actually, this summer I took pictures of two women hauling ploughs.

Whether it is ready for modern development, whether it can be rehabilitated in terms of what they had before, I feel very keenly that rehabilitation in Korea should start from education.

It is, of course, a country where disease is rife. We have at the present time all sorts of people working there but they are not doing enough, in the field of prevention.

The German Red Cross has a large hospital, the Swedish Red Cross has a hospital, the Italian Red Cross is there, and up to a short time ago in Pusan alone there were seven modern hospitals, built since the war and there were none before.

I did get complaints, very righteous ones, from the Medical Association. All this is free treatment: The Churches are giving, the Americans are giving, the United Nations are giving and the American armies are giving. This is squeezing the doctors out entirely from practice and they are very annoyed. What is going to happen is that all Korea will turn over to free medical care.

I do feel there is too much emphasis on disease and death and far too little on prevention and life.

I think if anything is to be done in Korea, it must be on an education basis. It must be a long term process. It must be in terms of educating people that health can be obtained if they only turn to the preventive side and also if they will work for it themselves.

I do think the Koreans are worthy of help. I think they have in the days of war upheld the flag of Freedom. They represent not the 38th Parallel, they represent people determined to resist Communist aggression.

You hear so little of Korea today. You only hear of Korea or any country such as Korea when a war is on. There are some definite problems to get out of the rut of the economy. There is education for the people. At the present time there are something like 480 medical students studying overseas. Some are over for one year, some two or three. They can't get them back. The idea is to send the people over so that they will come back and teach their own people. The thing is to get them back.

They will say, "It is all right for you. You get a good salary. You don't pay any taxes. We come back . . . after seeing the luscious America or Australia and you expect us to work for less than $10.00 a month."

That is all they get paid. How do you reconcile this? Well, I tell them that lots of the missionaries work for less.

But they have got some education and they don't want to work at the medical profession. . . . So it is a problem that will have to be settled by the Koreans themselves.

Also, I would like to emphasize, that Korea has the second largest standing army in the world, in a very small country, with a population of 21 million, jammed between China and Japan and Russia on the north, and China on one side and Japan on the other. They are rightly concerned about the future. Consider any country, with no natural resources, that has to spend something like ninety per cent of its budget for the upkeep of the army. There is very little left for other work. I think they spend less than a tenth of one per cent on public health in Korea.

We have been trying through the World Health Organization and the United Nations to establish the Public Health Program in Korea on a basis which the Koreans themselves can sustain. That is very difficult.

To go back to the leprosy program. They claim they give so many million hwan to the problem of leprosy. When you break it down they give nothing.

You ask me again, what in my opinion should be done with Korea. I feel there should be a very long program of education of the Koreans. I think there should be a very long program of health education. Also, the Koreans can do a great deal more than they are doing. If they are dependent entirely upon American aid, upon American contributions, this of course will not establish a firm economy in Korea.

It is very difficult. I am reminded of the story of the old Irishman. . . . This old Irishman had been stealing chickens, but he went to his Father Confessor and he promised he wouldn't steal any more chickens.

A watch was put on the chicken house when the chickens were still disappearing, and eventually Pat came out with a bundle under his arm, all wrapped in newspapers, but with the heads and legs sticking out all over.

When the Priest came to him he said, "Pat, you disappoint me. You promised you wouldn't steal any more chickens."

Pat looked at the Father and he said, "Begorra, Father, don't you know you shouldn't believe all you see in the newspapers?"

I think the story goes for Korea: You shouldn't believe all you see in the newspapers.

I would like to mention one other thing about refugees. We left Korea in June and we went back to Hong Kong. They had something like a million Chinese refugees in Hong Kong from Communist aggression. The United Nations has not seen the possibility of helping these people. It is a pathetic sight. I was very much touched because I think the condition is much worse than with the refugees in Korea. When I left many of the refugees in Korea were being rehabilitated.

Now in Korea there are a number of churches and as some of you know, I was a missionary for a while. In Korea there is a great deal of variety among these churches in the matter of building churches. In one town they built seven new churches. I was very much annoyed. They had taken some of the money to build a wall around the church, and I wanted it to build a shelter for the refugees who were in a very bad way.

I got talking to one of the Ministers—he happened to be a Baptist, but he could have been any of them . . . a Roman Catholic or a Presbyterian or any of the others. I was asking how could the church people see such miserable conditions and such hovels, and still keep building churches when a great need existed for houses.

He said, "You don't understand the situation. We are here to get converts. They won't come unless we build these churches."

He really meant it. It shows you how misdirected people can be. He was quite frank and he said, "If I build a small church, nobody will come. If I build a large one, I will get the people to come." It is very difficult to direct the money where it should go.

There is UNRA, the United Nations Rehabilitation Aid program. Some of our doctors are with UNRA. There is also a United Nations Organization in Palestine, Jordan and Syria, with headquarters in Beirut and they were very anxious that I see the situation there because they are also being cut off this year. I don't think I have ever in my life seen such miserable conditions as the so-called Arab refugees are living in. We drove from Jericho to Damascus, and went around visiting the refugees. My friend in Jerusalem, who was an Australian doctor, told me that it was impossible under the Charter for these refugees to work. They are still living in, not tents, but just tarpaulins. They seldom change their clothes. Many of them have not changed for three or four years.

In my own feeling perhaps I am a little on the Israeli side, because they have made so much progress and there has been so much done. These refugees feel that time is on their side. My friend in Jerusalem said, "No, time is not on their side, it is on the Israeli side."

I spoke to many of the refugees. One of them told me he was born in Monterey. I said, "Why don't you go back?"

He said, "I am not going back until I get paid for the land that was confiscated." He was not going back until Churchill, Ben-Gurion and Truman paid him the $5,000 for the land they had confiscated when he left the Israeli side. It is pathetic. Many of them feel that way, too, but the conditions under which they live and the lack of progress under the aid is appalling.

I also visited the Wailing Wall of Jerusalem and it is quite pathetic to listen to them.

I am not going to quote what they said which wasn't very complimentary to either Mr. Truman or Mr. Churchill.

It is very difficult to assess values and determine what should be done in rehabilitation and aid to refugees. I don't want to discourage you. I am sure many of you have given very liberally to many organizations. I want to emphasize very strongly that if any aid is to be given, or to continue to be given it should be given through the United Nations effort. It should be given not as a publicity stunt, or as a great power wanting to gain a name for itself, but it should be given in the name of charity, diplomacy and common sense.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Bruce Legge, First Vice-President of the Club.

"REGIONAL PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS IN WESTERN CANADA"

An Address by

ALBERT EDWARD GRAUER, B.A., Ph.D.,
President and Chairman of the Board of Directors, British Columbia Power Corporation, and British Columbia Electric Railway Company Limited

Thursday, October 10th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: Rhodes Scholar, trained in the law, called to the Bar of British Columbia before his 25th birthday, lecturer in Economics at U. of T. within a year, appointed Professor of Social Science and Director of the Department six years later—our guest speaker, Albert Edward (Dal) Grauer, B.A., Ph.D., turned his attentions away from academic pursuits, after two years, to the field of privately owned public utilities and became General Secretary of B.C. Electric Railway Co. Ltd., Vancouver, in his native province.

It took him just seven years to progress, by 1946, to President, B.C. Power Corporation Ltd., B.C. Electric Railway Co. Ltd. and B.C. Electric Company Limited.

The University's loss has certainly been the West Coast's gain. In eleven years under Dr. Grauer's presidency, B.C. Electric Company Limited has expanded to the tune of $300 millions of dollars and a Hydro capacity of nearly 800,000 horsepower. This privately owned company which has been described as Canada's largest utility has a new 8 million dollar head office building; has retired Vancouver's rickety trams for smooth riding, cream coloured trolley coaches, and has carried power to Victoria and the southern tip of Vancouver Island by laying an 8 million dollar underwater cable from the mainland. All this is only one phase of planned hydro expansion towards a target of 1,500,000 horsepower by late 1960, with a further capital investment of perhaps 400 millions of dollars.

Nor can it be said that Dr. Grauer is strictly public utility minded. He carries the following additional and varied responsibilities: he is a Director of Montreal Trust Company, Royal Bank of Canada, Sun Life Assurance Co., MacMillan & Bloedel Ltd., Can. Chemical & Cellulose Co. Ltd., Dominion Bridge Co. Ltd., Webb & Knapp (Canada) Ltd., Ventures Ltd., Can. Liquid Air Co. Ltd. and Investors Syndicate of Canada Ltd.

On the community level and in the national picture he is also making a major contribution; being Chancellor of the U. of B.C., Past Pres. of the Vancouver Symphony Society, Past Chairman of Trustee Board—Vancouver General Hospital, Member of Executive Committee and B.C. Regional Committee—Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Member of Advisory Committee on Atomic Power, Member of Canadian National Committee of World Power Conference, Chairman of Canadian Council—National Industrial Conference Board, Member of Honorary Advisory Committee—Canadian Transit Association, Member of the Board of Governors—Canadian Welfare Council and a Member of the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects.

In his spare time, he relaxes with his charming wife and six children and plays golf.

His subject today is "Regional Prospects and Problems in Western Canada". Gentlemen, I am proud to introduce Dr. A. E. (Dal) Grauer—a young dynamo from the West.

DR. GRAUER: Most of you will remember the French cynic's definition of women as—"A good idea, badly carried out." Much the same estimation has been made of Canada, as a nation.

Personally, I profoundly disagree with both allegations. In each case, I believe the words of the philosopher much more applicable who said, "He who would achieve unity must have an affection for diversity."

Certain it is that Canada, with its traditional six regions—the Atlantic Provinces, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie Provinces, British Columbia, and the Yukon and Northwest Territories—has a most interesting diversity which has nevertheless achieved a surprising degree of unity.

These various Canadian regions are greatly dependent upon each other but they have characteristics within themselves which give them each a particular economic complexion and which cause prospects and problems of an individual nature.

A look at Canada from the viewpoint of its various regions will therefore complement and illuminate studies of Canada as a national entity.

Today, I thought you might be interested in some description of, and comment on, the three regions of Western Canada, that is, the Prairies, British Columbia, and the Yukon and Northwest Territories. The Yukon and Northwest Territories are often referred to as "the North", which convenient practice I shall adopt.

The three western regions have 70.3% of the land area of Canada, more than half of it in the vast North. Yet, they hold only about 26½% of Canada's population; and here the North is statistically unusual with only 27,000 people in its huge area; a small fraction of 1% of Canada's population.

Western Canada's people are anything but evenly spread over the territory, tending to be concentrated in the south, a characteristic which is shared by Canada as a whole. 75% of our population is within 200 miles of the United States border.

The Prairies have long been known for agriculture, particularly for grain crops. Currently (1953) they still account for about 45% of Canadian total net value of agricultural products; although it may surprise some of you to know that Ontario is the biggest single producer of agricultural products among the Provinces, closely followed by Saskatchewan.

However, the importance of agriculture to each of the Prairie Provinces differs markedly, ranging from 23% of the total net value of Canadian agriculture in the case of Saskatchewan to 7% for Manitoba, with Alberta almost exactly in the middle.

Prairie agriculture, based on grain, has been able more than any other part of Canada to take advantage of the remarkable technological revolution in agriculture—surpassing that of industry—that has characterized the last few decades and has been marked by a much greater use of capital equipment and a tendency to larger farms. Farming population has, in this process, dropped quite sharply and has been absorbed in the growth of Canadian cities. With larger farms and better methods, the output of farms has been on a rising curve despite the smaller farming population.

There is every reason to believe that Prairie agriculture will continue to expand chiefly by intensive rather than extensive farming. Although there are still substantial blocks of new land that could be brought under cultivation, particularly in northern Alberta, the cost of clearing and developing new land is heavy as compared with the more intensive cultivation of larger farms.

This same cost situation would also appear to be true of big irrigation projects, although in this case other considerations might cause the public treasury to subsidize them.

The outlook for Prairie agriculture seems to be reasonably good for the future. Basic trends are favourable. The rapid growth in Canadian population, which is expected nearly to double in the next 25 years, will give a bigger domestic market for farm products. The Canadian taste for beef and pork which has shown a persistent increase for many years will take substantial acreage from the production of wheat to coarse grains and to pasture lands. There is every reason to believe that the efficiency of prairie farming will continue to improve impressively.

Nevertheless, it is on the non-agricultural sides of the Prairie economy that the rosier prospects seem to lie. The post-war trend from great dependence upon agriculture to a diversification of economic resources will go on, probably at an accelerating rate.

The remarkable tale of gas and oil has been told so often that it is sufficient for my purposes to note that this field is eminently a developing one with splendid prospects for the future. There are still vast possibilities on the side of discovery and production—only about 15 million acres out of a potential of some 470 million has been explored—while the outlook for increased consumption is tremendous, as shown by the forecasts in the Preliminary Report of the Gordon Commission.

Alberta has yielded by far the best oil and gas results of the three Prairie Provinces so far and seems destined to hold that position, with Saskatchewan a healthy second and Manitoba a rather poor third.

These oil and gas developments on the Prairies are of outstanding importance to all Canada. They mean not only a new and efficient source of heat and energy—natural gas—for the whole region from British Columbia to Quebec but also a reversal of our former import-export position with the United States regarding petroleum products. Contrasted with only two decades ago when almost all petroleum products were imported, the area from British Columbia to Ontario will soon be practically free from imports.

On top of this there will be a considerable export of both natural gas and oil, the size of which will depend upon the results of future exploration. All this will be of prime importance in Canada's balance of trade with the United States which, as you know, is now heavily in favour of the United States.

Turning to other sources of energy, we find that Alberta is by far the best endowed of the Canadian provinces with coal. Her coal resources are not only among the largest in the world but well diversified and in many areas capable of surface mining with its very cheap costs. For the time being these coal resources are put into the shade by oil and gas but they are an important long-time economic strength.

Regarding coal, Saskatchewan again is in second place, with large reserves of lignite in the south which can be surface mined and are now beginning to be used for the generation of reasonably priced electricity.

When it comes to water power, the tables are turned heavily in favour of Manitoba. Her potential, however, is a considerable distance from present centres of population and presents the problem of high costs for the first units of development. The northerly location of this water power potential is nevertheless strategic for the probable development of mineral resoures, as witness the present Moak Lake-Mystery Lake nickel undertaking of International Nickel.

The Prairies have so long been regarded as an agricultural region that it is a surprise to many Canadians to hear of their fine mineral prospects and considerable forest resources.

The northern part of the Prairie provinces together with the adjoining area of the Yukon and Northwest Territories is estimated to contain more than one-quarter of Canada's accessible productive forests. With long-term world demand favourable and with more economically placed forests of British Columbia, Quebec and Ontario being rapidly developed, it appears reasonable to expect that the forest resources of this part of Canada are of increasing practical importance for the future.

The Great Canadian Shield, which is the backbone of Canada's mining industry, extends across the prairies in a generally northwest direction and covers a great area of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. This region, therefore, is blessed with a large territory of favourable geological formation; and a good part of it has potentially low cost energy. Important uranium mines have been established in northern Saskatchewan and the outlook seems good for copper. Rich nickel-copper strikes have been made in Manitoba. Outside of the Shield large deposits of potash have been established in central Saskatchewan. Indeed, the Premier of Saskatchewan has expressed the arresting opinion that the value of wheat in his province would be exceeded by the value of mining and mineral products within ten years.

Secondary manufacturing has had a very small growth in any of the western regions compared with Ontario, but nevertheless it has been a significant growth compared with the West's own past experience. The major single industrial development in the Prairies has been related to natural gas and oil, both as raw materials and as sources of energy, and the greatest beneficiary of this has been the Edmonton district. There has also been scattered manufacture developed by local markets and by special demands such as that for pipe for the gas and oil industry.

On the whole, though, Winnipeg has maintained its position as the largest industrial centre in the Prairies partly because of the favourable start it got as "gateway to the prairies" and partly because its relatively low industrial cost structure has kept it in competitive position.

British Columbia as a region, is topographically quite different from the prairies and the north.

It has been described as "a sea of mountains", an epithet coined by one of the Confederate Fathers, Edward Blake, in his angry opposition to the construction of a railroad between Canada and British Columbia; the railroad which was one of the principal terms of union when the Province joined Confederation in 1871.

The "sea of mountains" soon engendered an optimism of its own. Its supreme example is perhaps found in the case of a miner who was a fervent disciple of G. M. Dawson, the pioneer geologist, and who was also an ardent, if not too understanding, reader of Dawson's great report, "The Mineral Wealth of British Columbia". When the time arrived for this miner to pull his last stake, he asked an itinerant clergyman at the diggings to read from the "Good Book". The clergyman chose the 21st Chapter of Revelations and described the new Jerusalem descending from above, its foundations garnished with precious stones, jasper, sapphires, emeralds, topaz and amethyst. "Stop," protested the miner, "Man, that's not the Bible, that's the Dawson Report!"

The other distinctive geographical characteristic of British Columbia is its 7,000 miles of open shoreline on the Pacific Coast including inlets and offshore islands, about twice the length of the Canadian-United States boundary.

B.C. has a larger area than the neighbouring Pacific states of Washington, Oregon and California put together, but only about 6% of it is potentially arable compared to about 54% in Alberta and 29% in Ontario. British Columbia, therefore, does not have the agricultural base that the Prairie region does.

The industry in British Columbia that more closely corresponds to agriculture in the Prairies is forest products.

The long coastal shoreline—with a mild, open climate caused by the Japanese current and heavy rainfall as the result of moisture-laden westerlies hitting the mountain ranges, has meant lush coastal forests in an area ideally suited for water-borne transportation. The result is that the B.C. Pacific slope has the finest softwood timber producing area in the world.

The western slopes of the Selkirks and the Rockies catch a second precipitation from these winds and produce rain forests similar to those on the Coast. The interior plateau as a whole is covered largely with lodge pole pine as is the southern part of the Rocky Mountain Trench. In all, 30% of B.C.'s huge land area is covered with productive forests.

The forest laws of the province are designed to achieve a sustained yield in perpetuity and, on this basis, there is still considerable scope for the expansion of the industry, particularly in the interior of B.C. There is every reason to expect, therefore, that forest products will continue to be the basic industry of British Columbia for a long time to come.

The Western Cordillera of North America runs the length of British Columbia into the Yukon and embraces some of the highly mineralized mountains of the globe; and thus mining, next to forestry, is B.C.'s leading primary industry. So far, almost 90% of B.C.'s total mineral wealth has been found within 150 miles of the United States border. Airborne prospecting and new access roads make it likely that the wild northern part of the Province will now come into its own. Considering the large area involved, the geology and the indications already found, we may suppose that there will be important discoveries made in fields such as uranium, iron ore, nickel and rare minerals as well as in the fields—zinc, lead, silver, copper and asbestos—already more commonly found in B.C.

The Gordon Commission's research studies forecast an increase in the total value of mineral production for Canada of from 3½ to 4 times during the next 25 years and see mining and mineral processing surpassing forest products in value of output. It seems certain that British Columbia will participate handsomely in this big growth.

Turning to the important field of energy resources, without which no great economic development is possible, British Columbia finds itself in a favoured position. It has within its own borders, two of the three most efficient and flexible energy sources in abundant supply, both actual and prospective, namely hydro-electricity and natural gas; with good prospects for the third, oil—which in any case it is getting efficiently by pipeline from neighbouring Alberta.

B.C.'s proven resources of natural gas and oil centre on the Peace River area which occupies a 34,000 square mile triangle in the extreme northeast corner of the Province. The reserves in this area are now over two trillion cubic feet and exploration is only beginning to gain momentum.

This gas has an outlet throughout B.C. and to the United States border through the Westcoast Transmission Line from whose opening ceremonies on Monday and Tuesday I just came.

Hydro-electricity is the form of energy in which Canada has historically had great advantages over most other nations. British Columbia's abundant rainfall and rugged topography have endowed the Province with enormous resources of water, considerably greater than those of any other western region. Its undeveloped potential is surpassed only by that of Quebec in all of Canada.

Perhaps the two outstanding aspects of B.C.'s hydro situation are, first, the existence of several large-scale projects, remote from centres of population, whose energy can efficiently be used at tidewater on the Pacific Coast and, second, the enormous potential of the Upper Columbia and the Fraser Rivers, two of the best power rivers in the world, strategically located in the populous southern half of the Province.

These big power developments all have their problems; for instance, the international division of downstream benefits on the Columbia, the fisheries on the Fraser and the question of a suitable port for the utilization of the Yukon-Taku and of the Iskut-Stikine-Dease Lake power potentials in northwestern British Columbia. But assuming that these problems can be overcome, and that *is* the general assumption, B.C.'s hydro potential should not only mean reasonably priced electricity for her centres of population for many years to come but large blocks of low-cost energy for those types of industry like aluminum in which electricity is the most important single part of final cost.

With respect to secondary manufacturing, the probability is that Greater Vancouver and the surrounding Mainland area of B.C. will become the third most important manufacturing area of Canada, albeit a good distance behind the manufacturing complex centred on Toronto and Montreal, respectively.

Greater Vancouver has outstanding transportation facilities of every kind and to every part of the world. "Fuel, power, capital and men," says the Province of Ontario brief to the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, "all follow great industries; but industry seeks out areas blessed by nature and history with exceptionally good transportation facilities." Nowhere in Canada does this observation apply with greater relevance than in the Greater Vancouver area.

B.C.'s splendid all-year-round ports give her a particularly strategic location opposite the awakening countries of Asia. The countries around the Asiatic side of the Pacific Ocean are determined to develop diversified economies, and if they are now going to see growth similar to that of the countries around the Atlantic Ocean during the past two centuries, then the Pacific side of North America will indeed have a fortunate economic location. It takes little imagination to see what a relatively small increase in the standard of living of Asia's abounding millions, and an associated development of her vast resources, would mean to international trade in general and to British Columbia in particular.

In a sentence, British Columbia seems to have arrived at a stage where there is a beneficent working of a circle of mutually stimulating factors, namely, bountiful natural resources, abundant energy, temperate climate, strategic location, population growth and industrial development.

When one turns to the North—the Yukon and Northwest Territories—the land mass is so huge, about 41% of all Canada, and exploration of resources in such an early stage that one can talk less particularly about prospects than of problems. Flying across this almost endless North, with hours between each small community, one is awed by the sheer size of it.

A combination of severe climate, muskeg and mountains strictly limits agriculture. Cultivation of parts of the Mackenzie River Valley and certain other small areas and reindeer herding are the chief possibilities here.

Fisheries, too, have some present development but neither fisheries nor agriculture have prospects of a magnitude that would support an important economic development.

Similarly, the traditional fur trade has passed the peak of its growth as far as wild animals are concerned but there are good possibilities for fur farming because of the availability of cheap fish food supply. But again, in dollar terms these prospects are small.

There are forest resources in the southern part of the region but the really important question which only the future can answer is: What lies underneath this tremendous land mass?

From the point of view of mining, there is favourable geology, with the Canadian Shield running into the Northwest Territories and the Cordilleras running through the Yukon. Actual strikes, particularly of gold, base metals and uranium, have been of an importance to justify great hopes for the future.

The geology is again favourable for natural gas and oil, with extensive sedimentary formations particularly in the Northwest Territories. Just recently a whole new field seems to be taking shape stretching from north of Great Slave Lake into Alberta and northeast British Columbia.

The problems of the North are much the same as those of the northern parts of the two other western regions, accentuated by an overall lack of population and associated lack of financial capacity.

Transportation is without doubt the central problem. A handful of 27,000 people in such a vast area can obviously support little in the way of roads and railways for such a far-flung region. The requirements of transportation have been helped by the needs of national defence, as witness the Alaska Highway and the DEW line; and at the exploratory and developmental level, the advent of the aeroplane has been revolutionary. But roads and perhaps railways are needed for any real opening up of the Northland, and the provision of these is essentially a matter for wise timing.

To what extent is the Federal Government justified in using national revenues to build expensive transportation arteries, particularly in a time of tight money, in order to develop resources which the various Canadian provinces are developing anyhow in fields where there is no apparent lack of supply in world markets? This is the central question.

For all three western regions the ability to attract capital is of fundamental importance. Generally speaking, the resources of these regions are of such a nature —minerals, forests, gas and oil—as to provide the strongest possible attraction for capital both nationally and internationally. Post-war history so far has demonstrated this beyond doubt and there is no reason to believe that this situation will change during the next few decades. I have not the time to go into all the reasons here, but the forecasts of the Gordon Commission for the next 25 years for world demand in these various resource fields are quite bullish.

In mining, and particularly in gas and oil, capital is apparently willing to do exploratory and developmental work even where prospects for the immediate use of the resource are not good. For instance, a program of drilling for gas and oil is now under way in the remote Peel

River area of the Yukon. Naturally capital is inclined to work from more accessible and proven areas outwards and for this reason one would expect a continuation of intenser effort in the Prairies and British Columbia than in the North.

Taking everything into consideration, it seems reasonably obvious that remotely located properties with high development, operating and transportation costs are not going to be as competitive in world markets as closer in properties. The fortunes of the northern parts of the Prairies and B.C. regions as well as of the North will therefore to a large extent depend upon world demand and supply conditions or, in other words, on world prices.

While there is every reason to be optimistic about the long term prospects for these more northern regions, it is also very easy to think with one's hopes for the nearer future and to be led into heavy expenditures which world markets for the near future may not justify.

Our various governments are faced with pressures for expenditure on all sides. In a period of tight money like this one the question of alternative expenditures thus becomes a pressing one for our governments. Should a substantial expenditure be made in a remote area or in one closer to centres of population or should it be made at all? This is the type of question that our governments will again and again be faced with. It is easy to lay down certain basic rules such as that government expenditures should be held back during periods when private capital expenditures are heavy or that marginal resource developments should not be encouraged but rather held for the time in the future when they become more profitable.

But actual life is much more complicated than simple basic rules indicate and our various governments deserve sympathy in arriving at decisions in this whole area of regional development.

As for the three western regions in general, I believe my review leads to optimistic conclusions. They have the resources, they have the ability to interest capital and they are attracting population. The growth of certain parts of this western territory, notably Alberta and British Columbia, has been nothing short of phenomenal since the end of the war. With Western Canadian resources basic in nature and relatively undeveloped, one can conclude with the poet—"but westward look, the land is bright".

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Marvin Gelber.

"ONE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS FOR WHAT?"

An Address by

THE HONOURABLE BROOKE CLAXTON,
P.C., D.C.M., Q.C., B.C.L., LL.D.
Chairman, The Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences

Joint Meeting with the Canadian Club of Toronto

Thursday, October 17th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: The Honourable Brooke Claxton, Member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, holder of the Distinguished Conduct Medal, Queen's Counsel, Bachelor of Common Law, Doctor of Laws, is too well and favourably known to his fellow Canadians to require anything approaching a detailed introduction to this audience. It would perhaps meet the basic requirements of the situation to simply state how highly honoured we are by his presence here today as our guest speaker, and to add that he will address us in his capacity as the first Chairman of the Canada Council for the encouragement of the arts, humanities and social sciences.

To do so would however obscure the fact that in addition to other important offices held by him, he was President of the Canadian Club of Montreal in 1938, after previously serving for eleven years on the Executive of the Association of Canadian Clubs.

It will also fail to disclose that even after taking time out to serve as Battery Sergeant Major with the Gunners in World War I, and winning a D.C.M. for gallantry in action, he graduated from McGill, as a Bachelor of Common Law, with honours, before his 23rd birthday. Called to the Bar in the same year, 1921, he was created a K.C. in 1939.

In 1946 he received the Greek Red Cross and the Special Commemoratory Medal from France, and in 1954, the French Aeronautical Medal.

Soldier, lawyer, educationist . . . he is presently a member of the Board of Governors of Carleton University . . . patron of the Arts, politician . . . he is perhaps best known as our first post-war Minister of National Defence from 1947 to 1954, but he had already served for the two previous years as the first Minister of National Health and Welfare.

Signer of the terms of union with Newfoundland in 1949, expert in international affairs and negotiation, he resigned from the House of Commons in 1954 and was appointed General Manager of the great Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. We can be sure he is now a top calibre life insurance executive.

One can readily understand his appointment by the Prime Minister of the day as Chairman of the Canada Council.

Mr. Brooke Claxton will now honour us by giving his own answer to his own question: "One Hundred Million Dollars for What?"

MR. CLAXTON: Your Chairman in his very generous introduction called me a lot of things. Up to three years ago I used to be called much worse than any of those.

I have been looking back at the record, and I find this is the third time I have been honoured by an invitation to address your two great organizations. The first was in 1945 and I spoke on "Social Security".

The second one was in 1951, and I spoke on "National Defence".

And today on "The Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences".

Each of these three occasions was six years apart. The subjects had one common factor: they were all very expensive.

Some people have been suggesting that when I resigned from the Government in 1954 I was showing unusual prescience about what was going to happen in the future, but I should explain the reason for this resignation.

I was on a trip of inspection out West, and going along the road from Edmonton to Vegreville on a bright spring day with General Chris Vokes in his car, with quite a cavalcade of people, we were stopped and checked up by the police for not having the right license plates.

The story that General Vokes and I spent the night in jail is a bit exaggerated, but this did produce a letter, signed "Vegrevillian" in the Edmonton *Journal*, which read:

"Dear Sir: It was rather amusing to hear and read the report of the stopping of the military escort to the Honourable Brooke Claxton on his way to Vegreville. We think that Mr. Claxton would accept this in good spirit, being the fine and grand old gentleman that he is."

If I was becoming known as an "old gentleman" I thought it was high time that I got another job. I thought that I was going to retire to the quiet private life of an insurance company.

For two years I refused every invitation to go on committees or take office and stuck to private business.

But when Mr. St. Laurent asked me to take on the chairmanship of The Canada Council, I felt that his agreeing to my retirement put me in a position where I could not refuse. Why one takes these unremunerative and exacting and unrewarding jobs, I don't know, but there always seem to be people willing to do it.

The Canada Council Act was passed with only a small group opposing it in the House, and none in the Senate. It came into law on the 28th of March, 1957. The Council was appointed on the 15th of April and held its first organizational meeting on the 30th of April and the 1st of May.

The Council has now been in existence for some four months. During that time we have completed the work of organization and got the necessary staff established.

We have established close working relationships with the universities, the arts organizations, the social sciences and humanities, and the research councils. That preliminary work has been done.

Such little criticism of the project as I have seen seems to have been based on ascribing to the Council functions, powers and responsibilities which it hasn't got, failing to aim at some other target than the one put up by Parliament, or failing to reach a goal it has never attempted.

So I am very glad indeed to accept this opportunity to say in a few minutes what the Council is and what it hopes to do.

In the first place, a foundation of this kind, because The Canada Council is a foundation, is not a new thing, either here or in any other country. In the United States there are 7,300 foundations, of which one or two only are established by public money.

In England there is the Arts Council of Great Britain, which receives an annual grant from parliament of £900,000, two-thirds of which it spends in support of Covent Gardens Opera, and the Royal Ballet, formerly known as the Sadlers Wells Ballet.

In virtually every country outside of Canada and the United States, the Arts are substantially supported by the State. That is true, of course, of most of the countries of Europe. Among Commonwealth countries large measures of public support for the Arts are given in the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland, Ceylon, India and Australia and, of course, in all the Iron Curtain countries. As a matter of fact, what may be called the performing arts, particularly symphonic music, opera and ballet have become so expensive that if we are going to have them at all they must receive subsidization, public or private, on a large scale.

Considerably more than half the Council's funds will be used in helping university education. In Canada we have a de-centralized system. The provinces have exclusive power over education. For one reason or other the state (federal and provincial) in Canada gives less for educational purposes than do other countries. In Britain, 73.6 cents of every dollar spent for education comes from the State. In the United States the figure is 56.6 per cent, but in Canada it is only 42 per cent.

It will be remembered that the Massey Report recommended the establishment of a Canada Council. The objectives of the Council are described in the Act passed by Parliament. They are "to foster and promote the study and enjoyment of, and the production of works in, the arts, humanities and social sciences."

Parliament, no doubt, recognized that Canada has become one of the wealthiest countries in the world. Our population is growing faster than that of any Western country. We have a very high standard of material civilization. We are pushing back the frontiers on every front. This material growth, it was felt, must be matched by a spiritual growth, a growth too in education, the arts, humanities and social sciences, as well.

You have all heard of the need for engineers, for skilled technicians. You have all heard that the number of undergraduates that we will have to accommodate in our universities by 1965 will double today's figure. You have all heard of the need of the universities for additional accommodation. But the greatest need of the universities is for people, trained people. Shortage of space in the universities is going to be as nothing compared to the shortage of qualified teachers, particularly in the secondary schools, and in the universities, and above everything else, teachers in the arts, humanities and social sciences because they today receive least support from business. The Canada Council was primarily set up to help meet the needs of higher education, particularly in the fields where those needs are least met today.

For these purposes a hundred million dollars were voted to the Council. Unlike most countries where assistance is voted annually, the Council was entrusted with a capital sum. This has advantages. It makes it possible to plan ahead and to carry out a planned programme. In this respect The Canada Council resembles one of the great American foundations, which have so richly nourished and strengthened the universities in the United States and Canada.

There are only seven foundations in the United States that have a fund of a hundred million dollars or more, so even measured in American terms The Canada Council is a sizeable operation. Those seven American institutions are the Ford, the largest, the Rockefeller, the Carnegie, the Kellogg, the Duke, the Pew and the Commonwealth (Harkness) . . . all founded by rich men, giving a large part of their fortunes for these purposes.

Of the hundred million dollars, Parliament put fifty million in the University Capital Grants Fund. In respect of this fund the members of the Council are trustees charged with its administration in accordance with the principles set out in the Act. This fund must be invested in Canadian Government bonds or other government obligations. Capital and interest are to be spent on matching grants for additions to the universities or equivalent institutions across Canada. To qualify, the buildings must be used for purposes of "the arts, humanities and social sciences." From the debate in Parliament it appears to have been anticipated by the legislators that the capital and interest in this fund would be spent in something under ten years.

We are collecting information on the building programmes of the eighty-six institutions so far listed as eligible and when we get that information we will know better how to spread out the money and secure the best leverage in making these matching grants.

Already we have had three completed applications and at a meeting of The Canada Council held in Ottawa two weeks ago we made the first grant of $700,000 to the University of British Columbia to match the work to be done on an Arts Building there; $500,000 to Queen's for an Arts Building and residences, and $430,000 to Carleton University, with which I am associated, for library.

This money will be paid out in four instalments during the course of construction against certificates.

One of the problems we had to decide right at the start was on what basis we would allocate the money between the different universities. The statute laid down that the fund must be divided between the provinces in proportion to population. That was easy to work out on the basis of the census of 1956. But when we come to allocating grants between the institutions in each province, the decision is entirely up to the Council. We were face to face with a difficult problem. We felt that we must have a formula that was precise, that was ascertainable and, if possible, one approved by the universities themselves.

So we met the National Council of the Universities at their annual meeting in Ottawa last June. The N.C.C.U. set up a special committee to meet us. We sat down with them the next day and worked out with them the principles on which we are making university capital grants; and it was unanimously agreed to by the representatives of the universities there and accepted by the Council at its next meeting. The guiding principle is that the money that will be available in each province in proportion to population will be earmarked for each eligible institution according to its proportion of the students working to a degree within the province. That is now in operation. That is the University Capital Grant Fund.

The other fund, also of fifty million dollars, is the Endowment Fund and The Canada Council may only spend its income. We can invest in any kind of security without restriction. To guide in this, there is a very strong investment committee, with Mr. Graham Towers as Chairman, Mr. J. G. Hungerford, president of the National Trust Company, as one member, Mr. James Muir, president of the Royal Bank as another, with Major-General George Vanier, Director of the Bank of Montreal, and myself, ex officio.

We were successful in making arrangements under which our money started to bear interest even before the Council had passed the necessary banking resolutions and bylaws. This was rather important because the interest on a hundred million dollars amounts to something over ten thousand dollars a day. So we could not let that money lie around idle.

The Council approved a policy for the allocation of investments between government, municipal or corporate bonds and common and preferred stocks. The investment program is well advanced and the rate of return is something over 5 per cent. On the Endowment Fund of $50 million we earn about $2.5 million a year. Out of that we have to meet the cost of administration. So far we have succeeded in keeping these very low indeed. The total cost of administration is something under $150,000 a year, representing about 3 per cent of the annual income of the total fund, whereas most American Foundations run from 10 to 15 per cent, and the Arts Council, 12 per cent. But the volume of work seems likely to increase and we shall have to do more work ourselves, depending less on outside assistance so expenses will increase considerably.

As authorized by the Act the government has entrusted the Council with responsibility for matters in Canada relating to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO as it is called) which will cost about $50,000 a year. This will leave the Council about $2,300,000 to spend each year on the arts, humanities and social sciences. On the humanities and social sciences there isn't too great difficulty in arriving at a programme. The Social Science Research Council has been in existence for some seventeen years and it was there ready to advise us with a programme which we could tie in to.

Similarly, the Humanities Research Council has been in existence for seven years. Similarly, it has as members, experienced people.

We made arrangements with the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Councils under which, for out-of-pocket expenses, they do a great deal of the work of examining applications for grants, processing them and advising us. The final say, of course, remains with The Canada Council.

At our meeting in Ottawa on the 19th and 20th of August we were able to arrive at a programme for ten different kinds of individual assistance, beginning with assistance for senior undergraduates, to enable them to do summer work, then graduate students leading to a master's degree, and masters leading to a doctor's degree. Provision is also made for a limited number of teachers, etc., of great distinction to have a year to do a special job. This assistance is available not only for workers in the humanities and social sciences, but also for workers in the arts.

There are special categories for people engaged in mass communications—journalism, radio, television and films. Also, for the first time, Canada is in a position to offer a number of fellowships and scholarships to students to visit Canada.

I don't know if it is appreciated, but over thirty countries today have scholarships open to Canadians and, apart from arrangements made by the Province of Quebec and some made by the Department of External Affairs using blocked funds, Canada was doing nothing in return. Although we are one of the richest countries in the world, we were the recipient of large numbers of scholarships and fellowships offered by other countries without doing anything in return. Moreover, in bringing people here we enrich our own country. Some of them will stay, some will teach, some will write while here and some, we trust, will return home as bearers of goodwill. One of the objects of The Canada Council is to project Canada abroad.

So we have these ten categories of scholarships, fellowships and awards. They have been announced and applications are being received. They will be processed by panels of experts who will make their recommendations to The Canada Council.

In the case of fellowships for non-residents, the Department of External Affairs and the other Canadian Government officials will act as our agents in collecting the papers, getting them in shape and forwarding them to us, also in seeing that effective publicity is given to the whole operation in the countries where we have accredited representatives.

We have already earmarked three of these scholarships for the new dominions—one for Ghana, one for Malaya, and one for the Dominion of the West Indies, when it comes into existence, and our hope is that this will be another bond linking the Commonwealth countries together.

In addition, in connection with work in the humanities and social sciences, we will have applications for assistance to learned institutions for assistance in publication, and that kind of thing. That isn't too difficult. We have set up the machinery to handle it. That is under way.

After four months the organization has been established, we have seen all our opposite numbers in the various organizations of the humanities, social sciences and education and we have provided a programme for disposing of the University Capital Grant and for the scholarship and fellowship programme.

Now, what is left? What is left is the arts and here we do enter a field where the going is tougher. You may be surprised to hear that none of the major foundations in the United States has had a comprehensive programme for the support of the arts. The reasons they gave me: first, they were too controversial and second, too costly.

Within the last week the Ford Foundation has announced grants of something like $760,000 a year for six different experimental projects.

By our charter we were required to step into a field which others in North America had avoided. We come up against some very difficult questions. Assuming, let us say, that we were going to spend $1,300,000 on a programme of individual assistance in the humanities and social sciences . . . I don't say we are, but assuming we are . . . that leaves a million dollars for the arts. Under the Act "the arts" are defined in the Bill as including "architecture, the art of the theatre, literature, music, painting, sculpture, the graphic arts and other similar creative and interpretive activities". We have no precedent to guide us and there is no experience. While there are a number of very valuable organizations, very few of them are nation-wide or even activity-wide.

We have to decide how much are we going to spend on organizations, how much on individuals. What division would we make between music, writing, painting, the theatre, opera, ballet, etc. How much on the old and accepted, how much on the new and avant garde. How much on supporting and extending the world of the best, how much on the national scale and how much on the local. We started with assistance to the Toronto Symphony, the Vancouver Symphony, the Ottawa Philharmonic and the Halifax Symphony orchestras. There will be others. And theatres like the Theatre du Nouveau Monde, the great French-speaking theatrical institution of Quebec. We have made a grant to enable them to make a trans-Canada tour, and to bring their plays to France and Belgium. That is one of our jobs. The National Ballet, the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, the Canadian Players and the Toronto Opera have already been authorized well-merited support; also the *Canadian Arts Journal*, a very fine publication of which any country can be proud, which has been self-supporting and successful with a circulation of 6,000 . . . a remarkable circulation . . . but they want some money to improve the quality, both of the text and of the reproductions. So we voted $30,000 over three years for a programme for that magazine, and $4,500 to *La Vie des Arts*, the corresponding French publication, and also a grant of $5,000 to the *Music Journal*.

As we make these awards and get in touch with the people working in all these various fields, a pattern will emerge more clearly and we will be able to see how much should be spent so as to get the best value and where it should be spent—on symphony music, choirs, the creation and recording of original Canadian compositions; in painting—perhaps in subsidizing the purchase by galleries of paintings by Canadian artists, perhaps improving the qualifications of art teachers, directors and curators of museums.

Even before the Council was set up I had spent a good deal of time in New York with the leaders in the great American institutions, particularly the Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations. They were most helpful and they were very enthusiastic about the institution of The Canada Council, which they felt might pave the way for a similar establishment in the United States. They gave me some warnings. They said, for example, that their experience was that if one out of three of the individuals given grants turned out to be a winner, that was batting pretty well. Their experience was that only about one application out of five received from organizations resulted in a grant. Therefore, a considerable part of the job was to say "No" and to say it politely but firmly and without raising any question about the desirability of the work being carried on. One of the heads of a large foundadation said he thought the best kind of reply turning down an application would be in a letter which concluded: "We have nothing *but praise* for your proposal."

Despite their long existence and wide experience we found that these institutions were still experimenting, still making studies to see what they should do. One foundation is spending $400,000 on a study to see what it should do in the field of the arts. We haven't got $400,000 for that.

In the United States they found it necessary to move around and see people. That is what we are doing. The director, Dr. Albert Trueman, the associate director, Eugene Bussiere and, as far as we can, Father Levesque, the vice-chairman, and myself are going to visit all parts of the country to talk with the people working in the fields of the social sciences, the humanities and the arts to try to get them, then and there, to sit down with us and work out proposals that will be practicable and which may bring rich dividends of increased enjoyment and satisfaction.

So far we have not had many imaginative or novel suggestions coming in. We have had all kinds of applications for local activities, like libraries, museums, choirs, orchestras and theatres. We have not had many imaginative suggestions as to ways and means by which the expenditure of, say, a thousand dollars, may bring many times that worth in benefit to the Canadian people.

Interestingly enough, the Ford Foundation doesn't invite applications in the field of the arts. The Foundation goes out and picks out the things it wants to do; but it has on file unsolicited applications for grants totalling $250,000,000 indicating the size of the field.

We are finding a surprising amount of talent in Canada. We all know of the magnificent work done by the Stratford Festival. It is almost right to say there is nothing to match it in the world today.

But also individual artists . . . people like Vickers and Hagen and Gould and Lois Marshall are world leaders. The boards of Broadway and the studios of Hollywood have more than a fair proportion of Canadians.

That is one of the difficulties we have to face in Canada. In this area of public performance we are always in competition with the immense resources and wealth of the United States. That is an advantage from some points of view; it gives our young people a great opportunity and we can't really complain about that any more than one would complain about an artist from Glasgow moving to London because the opportunities are greater. We have a great opportunity to encourage and help and support our young people because they have not only Canada to conquer but also the United States.

The scale of operations in the States is fantastic. I made enquiries and find that an hour long television variety programme will cost $200,000 which for talent, production, wire line charges and stations is by no means exceptional. $200,000 for an hour! The corresponding payment in Canada would probably be something of the magnitude of $30,000. A great deal of money.

We would like to send great organizations like the Toronto Symphony Orchestra across Canada. We have been in discussion with them about the possibility of the orchestra in another year having a nation-wide tour from Newfoundland to Vancouver Island, but to cover the cost of that for travel and salaries without any overhead, without any of the cost of carrying on the organization throughout the year would cost $6,000 a performance. The facts that we have to cover a country larger than the United States with one-tenth the density of population, the buying public, and carry on in six time zones and two languages add to the challenge of the opportunities. The best course, it seems to us, is to assist organizations and individuals to add to what they are doing already.

That brings me to a very important point. The whole concept would be wrong if it meant that the state is taking the place of any private benefaction. What this money is intended to do is to supplement, to add, to support, to encourage what is now being done. We shall expect every organization to raise the money it has in the past and then add to it and keep on adding to it. With Council money we hope to add to this activity, to extend it to a larger audience and over a wider field, and to improve the quality of performance.

I mentioned the fact that there were 7,300 foundations in the United States. Despite that fact it is estimated that ninety-five per cent of the support of the activities carried on by the foundations comes from individuals and from corporations—only five per cent from foundations. Our hope is that we will be able to coordinate and stimulate activities, provide additional experience, but not take the place of anything.

We shall make mistakes. You can't get anywhere in any activity and certainly not in the field of the Arts without making mistakes, but it will help us to avoid them if groups of organizations, such as those represented so largely in Toronto, keep in touch with us, sit down with us and discuss their problems and try to work out with us a constructive programme.

Toward this end we are having a series of meetings of experts in the fields of writing, music, art and the theatre, over the Christmas holidays, where we will in small groups work with them to see what more can and should be done in the immediate future and what studies and surveys should be made for the future.

Now, I haven't mentioned yet the constitution of the Council. The Council consists of seventeen men and four women, coming from every province. We have had three meetings of the Council and two of the Executive Committee. They lasted two days each and, having had a good deal of experience in meetings, I would say I have never met a group of people more able or with stronger views, nor with a greater willingness to take an interest and co-operate to achieve the purposes which I am sure Parliament had in mind.

Some people seem to have been surprised that these twenty-one members of the Council were not all artists, musicians and writers. But let us give that criticism, almost the only one levelled at the Council, a second look. Experience, long experience, in the United States has shown that the trustees of their foundations should not, generally speaking, be specialists. They should be representative citizens having a wide experience in public and private affairs, who because of that experience are able to make an appreciation of a proposal and, having regard to the necessity of balancing resources, are able to exercise good judgment. In arriving at decisions the Council will, whenever possible, look to experts for advice.

There is one obvious reason for taking that course. The field is so large—consider the arts, humanities and social sciences—that no council would be large enough to represent the major headings of the objectives set for us by Parliament, still less the various schools of music, painting or the theatre. If there was such a parliament of the arts, humanities and social sciences, how could they possibly agree to a method of dividing up the money in the way best desired to suit the over-all purpose? Someone else would probably have to do that; someone rather like The Canada Council.

And further, our Council is in the position of trustee. After all, a hundred million dollars to look after for the Canadian people is a large undertaking. But while the members of the Council have had positions of responsibility in public or private life, they have had a remarkable total of experience with the administration of universities, art galleries, orchestras and pretty well everything else coming into our sphere. I don't think there is a single member of the Council without a great deal of experience in one or other and usually several of these fields, so in that way we may have the advantage of an unspecialized knowledge of affairs, combined with interest long demonstrated in active work in one or other of them.

I have mentioned organization. The Queen herself, in that wonderful visit she made to Ottawa, completed this work of organization in giving her approval while there to the use of the Royal Crown in the seal of The Canada Council. We thought this was a very great honour indeed. I don't think she signed many things in Ottawa. We will have in The Canada Council room this lasting souvenir of our Sovereign's visit and of her interest in this field. Her participation was needed because to mark that the origin of the Council was in the Royal Commission set up under the Chairmanship of His Excellency, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, Commander Alan Beddoe, responsible for the Books of Remembrance of the Great War 1914-18 and of the Second War, had put in the Royal Crown.

It may be remembered that the Royal Commission also recommened that the proposed Canada Council should be concerned with the affairs of UNESCO . . . UNESCO standing for United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations.

Do you know why I boggled over that? The use of the world "cultural" . . . you may have observed I have come to the end of my speech and I haven't used the word yet except in connection with UNESCO. The Canada Council is not a culture factory. This organization is designed to supplement and add to what is now being done, to fill gaps, not to replace anything, not to direct anything, but to be an additional servant of the Canadian people, along lines perhaps somewhat similar to the National Research Council or the Defence Research Council with which I had to do in the field of science . . . serving the needs of the people of all of Canada in this important field of the arts, humanities and social sciences. As we see our country grow, with a population estimated for 1980 of twenty-eight million people, and a gross national production that year of $74 billion, we are going to have far more leisure, far more leisure than today. One of the things we are going to have to do is learn how to use that leisure. More important, we are going to need far better educated people because life is going to become much more complex. Business is becoming more complex. Education will have to be broad and general because business today is looking for "generalists" as well as technicians and specialists, and our engineers and scientists are going to need a more general foundation in language and other subjects with which the Council is concerned.

So, to meet the challenging needs and the opportunities of the country as we see them ahead, the Canada Council is there. It will be best judged by what it accomplishes. I believe that the best things it will do will be to assist people, individuals, to make a better use of their own capacities by taking them abroad or to another teaching institution in Canada, by giving them a year within which to learn how to work, how to teach, how to study, how to paint better than they would otherwise do, because the future of our country in every field, but particularly in this, depends on people.

The Canada Council, we hope, will be regarded as a people's organization, to serve people and to enrich our national life.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Henry E. Langford, President of the Canadian Club of Toronto.

"IS DIPLOMACY REALLY NECESSARY?"

An Address by

CHARLES B. LYNCH,
C.B.C. Correspondent, United Nations Headquarters, New York

Thursday, October 24th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: While today's guest speaker, Mr. Charles B. Lynch, was actually born in Massachusetts on December 3rd, 1919, his Canadian parents came back to Canada soon enough for him to grow up in Saint John, New Brunswick, where his grandfather had been well and favourably known as a builder of wooden sailing ships

Joining the staff of the *Saint John Citizen* in 1936 as a cub reporter, Mr. Lynch began his career in news work and journalism at the early age of seventeen, and after three years of reporting in Saint John and Halifax he joined the Halifax Bureau of the Canadian Press. Shortly thereafter he moved to the British United Press and by 1943 had gained three years' experience in Vancouver and Toronto. He then joined Reuters, who soon assigned him to Normandy, from D-Day to 1944 to the conclusion of the campaign in northwest Europe.

He covered the first four months of the Nuremberg war crimes trial; spent eighteen months in Brazil; was Reuters' chief Canadian correspondent from 1947 to 1950, and was then appointed as Editor of Reuters' North American service, with Headquarters in New York.

Just about one year ago, November 1st, 1956, he joined the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and became C.B.C. correspondent at United Nations Headquarters in New York, from whence he has come to address us today.

His first big assignment as a C.B.C. correspondent was as a member of the team covering the U.S. presidential election on November 6th, 1956.

He is familiar to most of us who have heard him on C.B.C. News; C.B.C. T.V. News; Capital Report; Press Conference; Byline; Assignment; This Week and Mid-Week Review. Many will recall his excellent C.B.C. T.V. work on the eventful night of June 10th last.

After twenty-one years of reporting, analyzing and interpreting important events, his observations will be authoritative and we are delighted that today he has undertaken to give his views in reply to the question, "Is Diplomacy Really Necessary?"

Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in introducing Mr. Charles B. Lynch, C.B.C. correspondent at United Nations, New York.

MR. LYNCH: When I received a hurry-up call the other day from Royd Beamish, asking if I could fill in for Max Freedman, who was too busy to come, I said "Yes". Mr. Beamish said something like "Thank heaven for that", and hung up.

A little later he wired me for the title of my talk. His wire arrived at an unfortunate time. American policy on the Middle East had just gone off the rails again. The Canadian delegation said it was taking the initiative in the situation, but wouldn't say what it was. Andrei Gromyko of the Soviet Union was roaring like a bull, in the General Assembly, and word came in that Mr. Krishna Menon of India was going to make another speech. On top of all that, the sad remnants of the Canadian press party that had been covering the Royal visit could be found in various corners of my office at the United Nations, in several stages of disrepair. Thus it was that I advised Mr. Beamish that the title of the talk would be: "Is Diplomacy Really Necessary?"

When I told some of the members of the Canadian delegation to the Assembly that I'd be speaking on this topic, their reaction was, "Oh, Lord, haven't we enough to contend with already?" They made me promise that whatever I might say in the body of this speech, I would end with the conclusion that we couldn't get along without the diplomats.

Thus do I commit the sin of tipping off my ending, but before we reach that stage, I hope to give you some sort of insight into what's happening just now at the U.N., plus one man's opinion on some of the issues.

I am sorry, in a way, that I come before you on United Nations Day. I don't think your programme committee planned it that way and I certainly didn't. This is the day when speakers say only kind things about the United Nations. To speak objectively about the United Nations, not to mention speaking critically, is a bit like coming out against Santa Claus on Christmas Eve. So I hope you will forgive me if I speak both objectively and critically about the United Nations on its own day. Perhaps many of you didn't know before noon that this was United Nations Day. I didn't until a pile of press handouts this high arrived on my desk two days ago.

Another anniversary that I didn't forget occurred yesterday—the first anniversary of the outbreak of fighting in Budapest, the freedom fighting. A lot of people at the United Nations didn't forget that anniversary, or what followed the outbreak of the fighting; what the Russians did; and what the U.N. did not do. Hungary is still technically a live issue before the General Assembly. Actually it is dead, for there is nothing anyone can do. The Russians have never paid the slightest heed to anything the U.N. did or said about Hungary. The strongest words were used by a majority of the assembly to no avail. Nobody was disposed to try anything stronger than words to try to persuade the Russians that they were in the wrong.

Some three months ago, Mr. James W. Barco of the United States delegation to the U.N. said that the Assembly's resolutions on Hungary marked the start of Russia's decline as a world power. With due respect to Mr. Barco, and scant respect for many of the policies of the Soviet Union, I can detect no evidence of Russia's decline.

On the contrary, I would say that Russia's influence, as seen at the United Nations, is increasing. I think that the Russians are playing on the Arabs, the Africans and the Asians in a more skilful way than the United States. If this trend continues you will be reading some surprising and perhaps unpleasant news from this because the United Nations, now that it has 82 member nations, now that it has so many delegates whose skins are not white in colour, no longer is a place where the Western nations can be sure of a majority for their proposals. The West has always negotiated from a position of strength in the General Assembly. Those days are fast disappearing.

Nobody knows that better than the Russians, and they are doing everything they can to cash in on it. The present dispute between Syria and Turkey is a current case in point. Early U.S. criticism of what has been happening inside Syria, and American concern over the growing power of Syrian left-wing elements, gave the Russians a chance to jump in. Once all the other Arab states had declared at the U.N., that they would stand behind Syria, come what may, the Russians hastened to declare themselves, with all the bluster at their command, as the guardian angels of the Arabs, not to mention the Asians, the Africans, and all victims of the western imperialists everywhere.

What a stand for the Russians to take on the first anniversary of Hungary, as Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge of the United States was quick to point out in the Assembly on Tuesday. But the trouble was that harking back to Hungary was not the most effective way to counter the latest Russian strategy in the Middle East.

What was called for, surely, was some sort of proposal from the West that the Arabs could conceivably accept —that would not have the effect of making them and their eastern friends think that their only friend among the Great Powers was the Soviet Union.

Among the nations trying to persuade the United States to see things in this light has been Canada. What work she has done has been behind the scenes, for an open break with the United States on this issue would no doubt do more harm than good. The Canadian feeling appears to be that since the United States is directly involved in the dispute, having been accused by Syria of being in league with Turkey to attack Syria, then the western lead should come from the United States.

In this view, the most the allies of the United States can do is try to influence American policy before it is announced, and then support it once it has been made public. This is the more true so far as Canada is concerned, since it appears that the United Kingdom is advocating a firm line in this situation—strong support for Turkey, scant respect for Syria, and let the chips fall where they may.

So it is that Canada is speaking in muted tones, publicly if not privately. There is no question of selling Turkey down the river, or forgetting the NATO alliance or the Baghdad Pact, both of which number Turkey among their members. The idea is to avoid a cleavage between east and west, from which only the Russians could derive benefit.

There has been some moderation in recent American statements. The problem at this moment is to get some cohesion into the western position. A firm lead from the United States in the right direction is badly needed. That means something that we have yet to see, a firm long-range policy by the United States in the Middle East.

One can sympathize with the United States in her difficulties. It's easy to say that her officials are naive, or that Mr. Dulles has his shortcomings, or that Mr. Eisenhower is more interested in golf. The making of United States policy in the Middle East is tremendously complicated—much harder than it is for the Russians. Russia has written off Israel, the United States has not. Russia wants nothing more than to break up NATO and the Baghdad Pact. The United States is a mainstay of those alliances. Russia has no crucial interest in Middle Eastern oil. The United States has, and so has Europe. Russia can wallop away at the history of the so-called colonial powers in the Middle East in a way that makes sweet music to the ears of Arabs, Asians and Africans. The

United States must always take into account the feelings and the present-day interests of the United Kingdom and of France.

Perhaps not even Solomon himself could evolve a workable Middle Eastern policy for the United Nations. If that is so, then it is the Russians' good fortune and our bad fortune. Never has this been so apparent as in the General Assembly this very week. Syria complained that she was in danger of being attacked by Turkey, and proposed that the U.N. send an impartial commission to the border area to investigate. Russia—and the Russians may very well have put the Syrians up to this in the first place—bellowed for action. The United States denied that she was encouraging Turkey to attack Syria, and of the conflicting views on this point, the American one seems much to be preferred.

The United States went on to say that she approved, in principle, the Syrian idea of sending an impartial commission to the area.

The way seemed to be clear for the west to get behind the commission idea, and it could have been a western initiative to make this happen in a proper way.

But then things started to come unstuck. Difficulties began to appear. The United Kingdom was at best lukewarm toward the commission idea, and the Turks, who are holding a general election on Sunday, became extremely withdrawn on the subject. At this point, King Saud of Saudi Arabia made an offer to mediate between Syria and Turkey. The United States, needing time to think things through, and to map a course that its friends and allies could follow, seized on the mediation offer as grounds for suggesting that General Assembly debate on the Syrian complaint be postponed indefinitely.

Syria said the debate should proceed. Russia backed her up. And so it was that on Tuesday night of this week, after a long procedural wrangle, Syria proposed a three-day postponement—that is, until tomorrow. It sounded reasonable—but there was no time for consultation, and when the votes were counted, the Russian-backed Syrian proposal had passed by 33 votes to 32, with the United States, Britain and Canada voting on the losing side. Nobody could remember a previous occasion when the U.S. had lost such a vote in the Assembly. It was interesting to note that four Latin American nations, including such old friends of the United States as Mexico and Brazil, voted on the Syrian side.

The soul-searching over that one is still going on today at the U.N. It is being played down as an unimportant procedural matter, something that would never have happened had the Assembly President, Sir Leslie Munro stalled the vote for a few moments to permit some consultation among the delegates.

That may be. But it may also be that the vote was a sign of other things. Certainly it was a sign of the potency of the Afro-Asian bloc of nations. Almost certainly, it was a sign that many non-Communist nations at the U.N. don't go along with the idea that because something has Russian support, it must necessarily be without merit. It might even be a sign that the Russians have made some headway with the idea that they are anybody's equal—that it is they who are now bidding from strength—that sputnik and the intercontinental ballistics missile are great equalizers.

The next act in this production comes tomorrow. I say production because I do not believe the peace is really threatened in the Middle East, as the Russians say it is. I believe that the Russians are playing a propaganda game, as the British say—though I haven't forgotten that the British said the same thing about Hitler in 1939. There's good reason to believe that it is a propaganda game, but it's one that the Russians are playing extremely well. They are after increased stature with the Arabs and their friends, and they are out to disrupt NATO, and the Baghdad Pact, and to diminish the prestige and influence of the United States. And they are on their way to accomplishing at least part of all those objectives, unless the West pulls itself together.

This certainly is a case where diplomacy is really necessary. Whether it is necessarily the United Nations kind of diplomacy we need is another matter. So far, it has been a case in which the United Nations involvement has been to the liking of the Russians. By playing this one at the U.N., they have been able to turn at least a temporary profit, at the expense of the United States and the West. To that extent, it's a sign that the U.N. is not a western show—and that is a fact with which we are going to have to live.

What is the United Nations? Could we do without it? Does it provide a forum that exaggerates the importance of the newer nations of the world, that takes no account of what we in the west regard as the great traditions, the great contributions to the welfare of mankind? Is the Assembly a distorted mirror, distorting the world at the expense of Europe and of the Americans? Ask an Asian or an African, and you will get a hot reply. It's a true mirror, they'll say; it's beginning to reflect truly the distribution of populations in the world. They'll tell you that the U.N. charter is the greatest document ever written.

Ask the Secretary General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, and he'll tell you that the U.N. is nothing more than a place where 82 sovereign nations meet to do business. It has no identity and no substance of itself; it is just what the member nations want it to be.

It is, says Mr. Hammarskjold, the best we can do in these troubled times, and if there were no U.N., somebody would have to invent one.

But there is something missing from this analysis of the U.N.'s make-up. It is a denial that any chemical change takes place when you toss 82 nations into a pot and whirl them around. It is to say that when you take an orange, a banana, an apple and slice them into a dish with a sprinkling of nuts and raisins, you haven't deprived them of their identity; you haven't created a new substance. And yet, when you taste it, it comes out fruit salad—something quite unlike oranges or bananas or the other things, though containing something of each.

The U.N. by its existence assumes an identity. Nations and groups of nations can do things there that they couldn't do anywhere else. Among other things it serves as an encouragement to bloc thinking, to the business of choosing up sides, of seeking majorities for resolutions, sometimes at the expense of workable solutions. This is the danger in the disarmament debate that is now going on in the shadow of the latest Middle Eastern crisis of hard and fast positions from which no nation can retreat, and from which no agreement can ensue. It was this danger that Canada's External Affairs Minister, Mr. Sidney Smith, warned against in his disarmament speech yesterday. He tried to leave the door open a crack, to leave room for some negotiation toward at least a partial agreement, since in disarmament there can be no imposed solution.

The problem is to follow through with an idea or a formula that will be acceptable, without losing face or being branded a waverer. A partial agreement on disarmament means coming up with something that will be acceptable to the Russians as well as to everybody else.

A fairly widespread reaction to the Canadian speech of yesterday was that it was "very kind to India"—presumably a reference to Mr. Smith's mention of a couple of Indian proposals as being worthy of study. That sort of thing can get you a label at the U.N. very quickly.

Somebody has to be found who will take an initiative on disarmament, just as on the crisis in the Middle East. Everybody in the General Assembly agrees that progress must be made; public opinion in every nation wants a start on disarmament; every voice agrees that the place to start is to end the testing of nuclear weapons, to prevent the fouling of the atmosphere. Nobody wants to become radio-active. The question is how to accomplish an agreement when there is so much mistrust around. We mistrust the Russians, so we insist upon adequate safeguards and inspection in any agreement that is made. Also, we want to go beyond the ending of nuclear tests into real disarmament; an end to the production of nuclear weapons; elimination of nuclear stockpiles and the cutting down of conventional armaments. The western proposals are complex, but they are sound. They are the work of honest men seeking an honest solution to a problem that is as old as mankind. Only now it is of crucial importance that a solution be found, for the weapons we are dealing with are capable of destroying life on this planet.

The Russians are playing a waiting game; at least, we can only hope it's a game. Only they themselves know the answer to our worst suspicions, which are that they may well be plotting toward the day when they can conquer the world. I prefer to believe that this is not true; that an explanation for their attitude can be found as much as anything else in the fact that they are just as suspicious of us as we are of them; that they are genuinely disturbed by the ring of western bases around them; that their hearts sink when they read and hear pronouncements in western publications, and especially American publications, that we should get the war with Russia over with before she gets any stronger. I prefer to think that she will be content to be treated as an equal; that she is as horrified at the prospect of hydrogen war as we are; and that she has no intention of starting such a war to achieve world mastery. She knows that from such a war no nation would emerge as master. To be wrong in this would be a terrible and final piece of misjudgment. It is our doubt on this score, and Russian doubts about our intent, that bring the deadlock—the inflexible position of which the Honourable Mr. Smith warned us yesterday.

Who dares to give a little in this situation? Prospects for agreement seem to be fading rather than growing, especially in view of the tough talk from the Russians since their Sputnik achievement, and the growing evidence that they have indeed the intercontinental ballistic missile, and with it a longer lead in the rocket race than most Western officials are prepared to admit.

The Western proposals on disarmament are good, right, and worth working for. Unlike the current western policy in the Middle East, or the lack of it, they are widely supported and they represent the product of our best thinking. There remains a chance for some sort of preliminary agreement in the current debate at the United Nations. Every man of good will must pray that it will come.

If it does come, the investment in money, time and effort that has been put into the United Nations will be repaid a thousandfold. I don't like harping on what's wrong with the U.N., and I doubt that many audiences on this United Nations Day have heard the kind of speech you are getting from me. If I speak as I do, it is because I doubt that pious platitudes serve the cause of peace, or in the long run the cause of the United Nations.

We all know the United Nations isn't perfect, and that it can't, as Mr. Hammarskjold says, be any better than the nations who belong want it to be. There is no magic force at work at U.N. Headquarters, making angels of us all and helping to see that everything turns out for the best. There is a man who tries to do something of the sort, that same Mr. Hammarskjold—a modest man and something of a philosopher. If this were not so, he couldn't last very long in his job, which is one of the most frustrating in the world, since he has so many masters to please. All of us have to compromise some time in our every day lives, but Mr. Hammarskjold has to do it on an heroic scale. He is the master of the gentle phrase that turneth away wrath in a dozen languages, the phrase so vague sometimes that nobody can understand him in any language.

Sometimes you would like to stick a pin in this unemotional Swede just to see if he'd yelp—but most times when you watch him at work you have to admire him, and be glad that a man of his calibre was found for the job. When the time came to reappoint him for another five years, just a few days ago, the decision was unanimous; nobody loves him, but all respect him, and at the U.N. of today, that is a rare achievement in itself.

Mr. Hammarskjold believes that interest in world affairs has lagged behind science and technology; that bodies such as the United Nations haven't kept pace with technical developments such as H-bombs, rockets and sputniks; that the scientists are doing their stuff better than the politicians and the statesmen.

He adds that the politicians and statesmen do, have to give a direct accounting to the people of their home countries, whereas the scientists are not so hedged in. They can invent something new and hair-raising without the general public having to have any great knowledge of the principles involved. But statesmen, at least in the democracies, cannot long pursue policies that do not have popular support at home.

For policies to have support, for initiative to be kept, they must first be understood. Understanding of what the United Nations is doing, and of what Canada should and should not do there, starts with people like you. Only in that way can you have a foreign policy that is truly a reflection of our national thinking—not only on the big crises that force themselves into the public attention, but in all the projects of the United Nations.

I spoke earlier about the increasing influence and prestige of the Russians at the United Nations, and there is a moral in that for Canada. The Russians say they welcome competition. It is up to the west to see that they get it—not only on the technical side, but in the realm of ideas as well. We are a small country, but we occupy a very special place at the U.N. There is nobody else quite like us, and the Soviets certainly have no nation in their camp with credentials such as Canada possesses.

Arabs, Asians and Africans are disposed to listen to Canada and to consult Canada, sometimes at times when they might not be talking to Britain or the United States. The Latin American countries are very well disposed toward the Canadian point of view. Our geographical position as a new world country, and our unusual ties with the United Kingdom and the United States, give Canada a position that goes beyond any building up of our own ego. It makes us valuable to the world community as a voice that can be heard and can, perhaps, do some good. It is up to us to decide how to use that position; whether to take initiatives at the U.N. in things that may not affect us directly, but are in the larger interests of world peace and harmony. Some people might call it sticking our noses into things that do not concern us. I would call it enlightened self-interest. We should send to the U.N. General Assembly the best people we can find, with knowledge of world events and a thorough knowledge of Canada and where her best interests lie. Anything less than that on Canada's part will leave a vacuum in the Western camp that we can ill-afford with the other side getting stronger all the time.

But there is no pot of gold at the end of the international rainbow; there will be no sudden and dramatic turn for the better in world affairs. The talking, the arguing, will go on. Conference after conference will be held on disarmament and other vital matters, and there will be speeches we don't like, and votes we don't like.

The speeches yet to be made, at the United Nations and out of it, will total a staggering number of words. You would be able to walk to the moon on the paper from the duplicating machines.

Some of it will sound like the whole truth to some people, and like a pack of lies to others, for that is the kind of world in which we live. The United Nations has imperfections galore, and no doubt many more to come for people like ourselves, who see and think as Westerners and whites.

It is perhaps a poor thing, and we of the West can no longer call it our own. But it does seem to be better than fighting it out with bombs, and up to now in its short life—it is only twelve years old—it has helped to make possible a world in which Canada can develop, as she has, into an exciting place in which to live; and so can Ghana, and so can all the rest, including Russia.

I think I can discharge my promise to the anxious members of the Canadian delegation at the United Nations—diplomacy *is* really necessary; it does help keep the world habitable; it does call for the best and most representative Canadians we can find; and it does start with you.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Royd Beamish.

"SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN OUR AMERICAN ECONOMY"

An Address by

GEORGE ROMNEY,
President of American Motors Corporation, Detroit

Thursday, October 31st, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: Today we warmly welcome our first American guest speaker of the current season—Mr. George Romney, President of American Motors Corporation.

Born in Mexico of American parentage, he was educated in the United States—attending Latter Day Saints University, the University of Utah and George Washington University. In 1929 he joined the staff of U.S. Senator David I. Walsh, as a tariff specialist. In 1930, he moved to the Aluminum Company of America, which company he later represented, along with the Aluminum Wares Association, in Washington until 1939, when he was appointed Detroit Manager of the Automobile Manufacturers' Association. By 1942, and until 1948, he was General Manager of that Association. In 1941, he helped to organize the Automotive Council for War Production and became its Managing Director as an additional responsibility. Just before the U.S.A. entered World War II he assisted in the creation of the Automotive Committee for Air Defence.

In 1948 he joined Nash-Kelvinator Corporation as Assistant to the President; within two years he was a Vice President, and it required only four more for him to become Executive Vice President and a Director.

Nash-Kelvinator Corporation and Hudson Motor Car Company merged to form American Motors Corporation in May 1954, and Mr. Romney was its first Executive Vice President and a Director. In less than six months, by 12th October 1954, he was elected President.

He is also Chairman of the Board of Refrigeration Discount Corporation; Chairman of the Board of Altorfer Bros. Company of Peoria, Illinois; a Director of Redisco of Canada, Limited; Kelvinator of Canada, Limited; American Motors of Canada, Limited; and of Kelvinator Limited (Great Britain). He tops things off with the Presidency of the Automobile Manufacturers' Association, with which he first established a connection in 1939.

Like so many high calibre business executives, Mr. Romney more than pulls his weight in community and religious activities. He is presently Chairman of the Detroit Citizens Advisory Committee on School Needs, and is a Director of Cranbrook School. Long active in religious affairs, he is President of the Detroit Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

He has chosen as his subject for today, "Some Significant American Economic Developments". Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in introducing Mr. George Romney, President, American Motors Corporation.

MR. ROMNEY: Thank you very much, President Montague, for that very generous introduction. I certainly welcome the opportunity to be here in Toronto and after that rather glowing introduction I would like to bring you back to earth and really let you know that I head up a company that is a David among Goliaths. If you are familiar at all with American Motors, you will know that we probably compete with more of the industrial giants of the earth than any other single company.

On the automotive side we compete with the "Big Three", and on the appliance side we compete with General Electric, Westinghouse, Whirlpool, with its R.C.A., and Sears Roebuck connections, and its Simpson-Sears connections. We know what competition means.

As a matter of fact, I don't think anybody appreciates more than I do, J. T. Keller's definition of a competitor as a man who goes in a revolving door behind you and comes out ahead of you.

Even my children have the competitive spirit. My nine year old boy came home from school the other day and he said, "Mom, we really build the best cars, don't we?"

She said, "Why, Mitt, of course we do. Why do you ask?"

He said, "Well, if we build the best cars, why is it that less than three per cent of the people agree with us?"

When I came home that night I took my young son on my knee and I said, "Look, Mitt, size doesn't always indicate strength and popularity doesn't always indicate truth, and sales volume doesn't always indicate value."

I hope, and expect, as a matter of fact, at the end of 1958 to take my young son on my knee and say, "Mitt, there is one thing I want to add, and that is right always prevails."

I feel I am entitled to this label "American", because I was born in Mexico. I live in the United States, except for the summer when I am a summer Canadian. So I really feel I am entitled to be called an American.

As a Yankee American I have been guilty, along with my associates, of taking Canada too much for granted. I think that is kind of a natural tendency because we speak the same language, even if we don't speak it as well as you do. We enjoy the same sports and after all, we do have the same heritage. From our Western European sources we inherit basically the same concepts of religious, political, and economic freedom.

The fact that we know each other so well has tended to cloud the fact that there are few fundamental differences, which reminds me of the debate in the House of Deputies over women's suffrage. It is an old story—you have probably all heard it. It is about the Deputy who was arguing for the women's right to vote. He said, "After all, there are very slight differences between men and women," and his opponent jumped up and said, "Long live the differences."

We are not identical, and we as Americans should stop thinking of Canadians in the same terms as we tend to think of people from other States in the United States.

As a company doing business in Canada we have recognized the desirability of conducting our business as much as possible on a Canadian basis. We highly value the relationship that we have with Canadians.

If you take the management of our two organizations —the automotive and Kelvinator of Canada—we have thirty top Executives. Of the thirty top Executives, twenty-six are Canadians, three are from England and one is from the United States.

In Kelvinator of Canada, American Motors own 55 per cent of the stock. In Simpson-Sears, Mr. Burton and his Sears associates own 20 per cent of the stock, and other Canadians own the balance of the stock of Kelvinator of Canada. We are pleased that we have important Canadian participation. We have three Canadians on our Board.

I believe that Yankee Americans should welcome the resurgence of the Canadian spirit of independence and distinction and your economic ambition. Actually, I don't think it is any different in its inherent qualities than the same spirit of independence and desire to achieve economically that enabled the United States to benefit from substantial foreign investment in the United States. If you go back to the turn of the century, a great deal of our basic enterprise was made possible as a result of important foreign investment, because we lacked capital funds.

From the time of my grade school education, I have been taught that we derive a great deal of our industrial know-how from Great Britain and Western European nations—processes as well as products—yet by maintaining our independence of approach, we have been able to attain the position that we now have.

I don't consider this pro-Canadian attitude an anti-American attitude, any more than I think the fact we had a Mayor of Chicago, back in 1920, who was anti-British made the American nation anti-British. Sure, Bill Thompson used to get played up in the British press and he used to say some very uncouth things about the King and others. But it wasn't an anti-British viewpoint, it was a pro-American viewpoint.

Jointly, as Americans and Canadians, we face some stupendous international problems and some internal problems that could be even more vital. I think they are more vital. All of us, I think, are more familiar with the international problems we face and as a result I decided to focus my comments on some of the significant trends in the United States, because I can speak of them on the basis of first-hand knowledge. The greatest American in my book is the one who said, "When you talk speak the words of life," and that means speak the words of experience.

If I refer to my own personal experience in this talk I hope you will excuse me because I think I can talk against that background with greater profit to you. I must of necessity leave any application of the American scene to your Canadian picture.

As background, let me remind you of three fundamental and eternal principles. Number One, the one voiced by Ralph Waldo Emerson, one of the great American philosophers and writers, when he said, "There is no weakness except from within, and the only unsurmountable barrier is our own inherent weakness of purpose." That is essentially the same thought as that expressed by Mahatma Gandhi, who in my book achieved this century's victory, and his favourite advice was "Turn the searchlight inward."

The second principle I want to remind you of is that which was voiced by the great American poet, Walt Whitman, who wrote, "It is provided in the essence of things that every fruition of success, no matter what, is followed by something to make necessary a still greater struggle." That is true in our personal life as well as in our collective activities. The greater the responsibility of our achievement the greater the challenges and the greater the struggle we have to put forth to overcome the new challenges.

And the third principle is that voiced by Toynbee in "The Study of Civilization", that civilizations rise or fall depending on ability to meet new challenges and to respond to them in the right way."

What are the internal somethings in the United States that have resulted from the very magnitude of the United States' accomplishments, which must have the right response if the United States is going to be able to play its proper world role? Let me touch some of them.

I think one of our major economic problems in the United States is one which we have had for an extended period of time, and have been unable to solve. That has been the problem of the economic imbalance between Agriculture and Industry. In the United States, going back into the '20s we have had a disturbing imbalance between agricultural prices and industrial prices.

It happened when I worked with Senator Walsh down in Washington in 1929 and 1930, that the imbalance between agricultural prices and industrial prices in the United States was then considered to be one of the major, if not the major contributing factor to the great depression that started in 1929. Loose credit had a part, but there developed in the Congress of the United States a great debate, focussing around the agricultural problem and around the tariff laws. The farmers then were taking the position that they couldn't sell in world markets and buy in protected American markets; that they either had to be protected or subsidized or industrial tariffs had to be lowered so they can buy the things they had to buy on a world price basis.

Unfortunately, as far as I am concerned, the wrong decision was made in 1930. The United States Congress and President Hoover passed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act, and boosted industrial tariffs. Despite the fact we had become the greatest creditor nation in the world, we continued a restricted foreign trade policy and even tightened it.

Then because of this imbalance between Agricultural and Industrial prices, the McNary-Haugen Farm Bill was passed to subsidize the farmer out of the Federal Treasury.

In subsequent years our approach to tariffs and foreign trade has modified somewhat. We have the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act and it is modified somewhat but not to the point where you can say that the American foreign trade policy is one in keeping with its creditor nation position and the reality of the need for international trade, or the meeting of the requirements of nations on the basis of their ability to produce and sell in the American market.

And, on the other side, the agricultural problem has continued to be met on the basis of subsidization, increasing agricultural prices that are completely unrealistic in terms of international world agricultural prices, and is reaching now the place of subsidization of sales of agricultural products in world markets—something I don't think you people feel too kindly about.

We have another factor in this imbalance in the United States between industrial and agricultural prices. The ability of unions to secure wage increases now bears no relationship to productivity increase which means you have to boost prices. Since 1948 we have increased industrial prices in the United States by 21 per cent and during the same period agricultural prices have declined 14 per cent. I submit that the disparity between agricultural prices and industrial prices has again become a major economic problem in the United States.

The American economy, and I believe yours, is premised primarily on the idea that the general public will be protected by adequate competition and also that there are only two ways to discipline an economy: through competition or through absolute authority, and the absolute authority can be either private or public.

The late Dr. Simmons, of the University of Chicago, once wrote, "Any community that loses the discipline of competition exposes itself to the discipline of absolute authority." You can have cartelism, private absolutism or collectivism which is public authority, but I, personally, don't know any other alternative to competition and absolute authority except in a perfect society. If you give me perfect human beings I can give another form, but that is for the Millenium.

To convey to you the picture of what has happened, let me give you the background of my own experience. It is true I represented the Aluminum Company of America in Washington for eight years. The Aluminum

Company of America was the only producer of aluminum in the United States and it was a monopoly.

It is a moot question among lawyers whether our Anti-Trust laws, designed to preserve the competitive principle, actually applied to the Aluminum Company of America, an industry on a modified non-competitive basis. Although the Government started proceedings against the Aluminum Company while I was still representing it, it wasn't until 1942, when the government had billions of dollars to spend for military purposes that the Government of the United States decided as a matter of public policy that there should be at least five aluminum companies in the public interest, and they literally subsidized one way or another such companies as Reynolds, Kaiser, and Anaconda Copper. Today there are six aluminum companies.

As a result of competition the production and consumption of aluminum in the United States has now been stimulated to the point where there is more consumption in two or three weeks than used to be produced in a whole year immediately prior to World War II. That is how fast competition has stimulated the aluminum market in the United States.

I left the Aluminum Company of America in the fall of 1939 because it was a vast monopoly, and like most monopolies, whether private or bureaucratic, the opportunities for promotion are more dependent on seniority than on other considerations. I had an opportunity to go into the automobile business in a trade association capacity, and leave the security of the Aluminum Company to go into the insecurity of a trade association job. It was a competitive job. I went because I felt in a competitive industry there were more opportunities if a fellow had any ability.

At that time there were eleven automobile companies. At that time there was one aluminum company. Today there are six aluminum companies; there are five automobile companies.

I submit that if it is a matter of national policy, and the United States of America needs six aluminum companies, it certainly needs at least five passenger car companies, because the automobile industry influences the employment of one out of every seven people in the United States.

I don't want my company or any other company to continue to exist in the United States purely on the basis of subsidy or special consideration, either by the industry or by the Government. I think it is essential to a competitive economy to have death for companies if they can't organize activities so they can produce something that free customers want to buy and I mean that without reservation. After all, there have been twelve hundred automobile companies. In fifty years they are down to five, and I don't want to see a situation continue where we can't have a few more deaths if we have to have them, and I mean that literally.

I have reached the conclusion in my own mind, that the "Big Three" have achieved their position of dominance in the United States, not by using improper methods, nor by doing things that are contrary to the public interest or the industry's interest, in the main. Nobody conducts a business perfectly, but in the main, they have. They have acquired their position because they have done a job better than others in terms of what free customers wanted.

So I don't want to disparage in any way, or have you think I am disparaging in any way the magnitude of the accomplishment of General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. I admire them for what they have done. I know, that the competitive principle has operated to the point where with more deaths in basic industry we get inadequate competition. I am confronted with the hard truth, as far as I am concerned, that the laws were designed to prohibit improper competitive practices are no longer adequate and that the American laws affecting American economic policy must on the basis of principle, not on the basis of administrative discretion, such as was used to create competitors for the Aluminum Company of America, but as a matter of principle, provide for the continuation of the process of birth, growth and death in our major industries.

There hasn't been a successful birth in the automobile industry in the United States since Chrysler was born in the early twenties. I am not going to try to spell out here the application of that principle over there. I think there is a way to accomplish the objective stated, but I consider the modernizing and the strengthening of the laws of the United States as they apply to American industry, to provide for the continuation of the process of birth, growth and death over there as vital to the future of a vigorous American economy.

Now, Collective Bargaining. I happened to be in Washington when the laws protecting, fostering, promoting and removing collective bargaining from any significant limitation were passed. There is no limitation in the United States today on the extent to which a union, on a union basis can concentrate its power.

That will give some realization of why it is that union power has developed to the point it has. Actually, these laws were passed because Management was abusing its power and because the development of modern industrial society had resulted in huge corporations in which the individual worker had no adequate means of protecting himself except through sound collective bargaining.

Unfortunately, in an effort to redress that inequity we went too far and removed any limitation from unions. The result is unions have seized the opportunity and have organized their power to a point where they are on the verge of consolidating, not on an industry basis but a national basis. For several years collective bargaining in the United States has been essentially pattern bargaining, where one of the national unions, affiliating with the other national unions, picks a victim, either a company or an industry. They get from that company or industry —always a company or industry that is big enough to be used as a pattern setter—the conditions they want to apply through the whole economy.

For several years that has been one of the automobile companies. In 1955 it was the Ford Motor Car Company.

This use of union power which now exceeds the private power exercised at any time by any other private group in the history of the United States has been so successful that the wage increases annually have now moved up from the level of one, two and three per cent to an increase in 1955 of twelve per cent. That twelve per cent pattern established with Ford not only went through the automobile industry but other industry as well, and the result was you had higher costs and price increases.

I think we are faced in the United States with the question of whether we are going to apply to unions the same limitations that historically we have applied to all other segments of the American economy. In the United States either American industry is going to consolidate its power in the same way the unions have consolidated their power, on a national basis, or the Government of the United States is going to apply the same dispersion of power principles to unions as they have applied to Industry.

There is a complete conflict today in the principles of our national labour laws and the principles of our national economic laws. It is an economic absurdity to apply price competition and permit monopoly fixation of wages. Wages contribute ninety per cent of cost and therefore price, and the fixation of the wages when it is a pattern that goes through an economy is, in essence, a fixation of prices. That is another problem.

Another is an excessive reliance on monetary controls in combatting our inflation over there. We did it in 1953 and we are doing it again now. Actually, the biggest single cause of inflation in the United States, is this matter of wage increases that exceed by several times any possible improvement in efficiency. The effect of that has been that industries in past years have been borrowing all the money they could, using all the credit they could, to mechanize around rising wages costs. We haven't any shortage of production capacity. We have too much production capacity in most of industry.

The use of monetary control as a substitute for getting at the principal cause of inflation, which is the inordinate level of wage increases, threatens us in the United States with economic depression. Or it could confront us with a repetition of what happened in 1953, namely, that the pressure because of declining economic activity reaches the point where the Federal Reserve Bureau retreats from its present monetary policy and the old forces of inflation take over. In 1953 to 1955 we moved from where we couldn't have much of a wage increase to a twelve per cent wage increase in 1955. We can see a repetition of that in 1958.

I don't know what is going to happen, but I am sure the problem of inflation in the United States is not going to be resolved until union power is curbed to the point where there is some equality of bargaining.

The loading of the responsibility on the Federal Government for full employment and prosperity, the responsibility of foreign aid and economic development around the world, have all resulted in a decline in the responsibility of the State and local government. It is an accurate statement, I think, to say that in the United States, unless there is a reversal of the trend, state government will cease to render any essential and important governmental function in the next twenty-five years.

Under that setup, the power of the President of the United States has increased to an alarming degree, to a degree where *U.S. News and World Report*, which is our most informative source of news on international and domestic affairs, had as its lead article in the October 25th issue, an article by a brilliant French economist and soldier entitled "The Coming Caesars in America". I would like to take the time to read a little bit from that article:

". . . It is the contention of this book that expanding democracy leads unintentionally to imperialism and that imperialism inevitably ends in destroying the republican institutions of earlier days . . . further, that the greater the social equality, the dimmer the prospects of liberty, and that as society becomes more equalitarian, it tends increasingly to concentrate absolute power in the hands of one single man."

"The legitimacy of all institutions rests on one factor: *time*. Those that endure over a long period of time are legitimate. Those that happen to seem logical at the immediate moment are not necessarily legitimate. This is the cardinal difference between Caesarism and tyrannies or dictatorship. Legitimacy involves a slow build-up over a period of generations, not a sudden seizure of power. Aristotle had already observed, from Greek experience, that tyrannies are short-lived. Not so Caesarism, which is a slow, organic growth within a society tending toward democratic equality."

One of the most specious ideologies in the world today is the idea that all men are equal and therefore should all have equal benefits.

"Western society today, and especially American society, presents the spectacle of an immense multitude of equal and similar men and women who think alike, work alike, and enjoy the same standardized pleasures. The more uniform the level, the less the inequality and greater the compact emotional power of the multitude of like-minded men. But this power has to be concentrated and personalized by one man who acts as its articulate spokesman. Who can this man be today, except the incumbent of the most powerful office in the most powerful state in the world—the President of the United States?

"The United States Congress has repeatedly expressed its fear, especially since the New Deal and World War II that the Constitution and the separation of powers is being steadily undermined—and so it is. Under present conditions, democratic equality ends inevitably in Caesarism. No system of checks and balances can hold out against this profound evolution, a psychological alteration that bypasses specific institutions. The thirst for equality and distrust of any form of hierarchy have even weakened Congress itself through its seniority rule. Dislike for aristocratic distinctions eventually ends by eliminating that most indispensable of all elites—the aristocracy of talent." And further: "In truth, no mental effort is required to understand that the President of the United States is the most powerful single human being in the world today."

(And in President Eisenhower we have a very humble man who inherently is opposed to the magnitude of power that he has to discharge.)

"Future crises will inevitably transform him into a full-fledged Caesar, if we do not beware. Today he wears ten hats—as Head of State, Chief Executive, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chief Legislator, Head of Party, Tribune of the People, Ultimate Arbitrator of Social Justice, Guardian of Economic Prosperity and World Leader of Western Civilization. Slowly and unobtrusively, these hats are becoming crowns and this pyramid of hats is slowly metamorphosing itself into a tiara, the tiara of one man's world imperium."

We will never call anybody Caesar, but if trends continue the way they are I think it is hard to disagree with many of the arguments in this article.

And in conclusion: "So far, all Civilizations have chosen the easy solution of Caesarism. But Caesarism itself, if allowed to develop unchecked, implies organic death for the society that gives itself up to it out of fear of freedom. And whereas in the past a new Culture has always sprung up from the ruins of an antecedent Civilization and blossomed forth, the wreck of our own Western Civilization might well mean absolute death for the entire human race."

In my book the Number One National Problem in the United States today is the excess concentration of private and public economic, social and political power—the very thing that our Constitution and basic documents were designed to prevent.

We are getting an inadequate response to these problems. On this question of agricultural and industrial price disparity we are going further along the road of subsidization.

The McLelland Committee is investigating trade unions in the United States, but they are dealing with the excesses of power, the abuses of power, not with power.

Even the late Robert Taft, vigorous and courageous as he was, ducked the problem of union power in America and cast his vote in the Taft-Hartley Bill to prevent that from becoming the central issue. That is how difficult the problem is.

There is no leadership in the United States that has undertaken to deal with this concentration of union power. They are working at a business that is popular—

we are all against excesses and abuses and criminals and thugs and things like that.

The President, well meaning as I think he is, has made what I consider a very unrealistic approach to the matter, by simply making an appeal to unions and companies to restrain themselves in the 1958 bargaining. There is no effort to do anything about the anti-trust laws and federal power continues to accumulate. There is lip service given to reversing the trend, but not much of an effective character is done. Industry is on the defensive. The unions have developed some skilled leadership and make no mistake about that. The union leadership in the United States, the more intelligent and able part of it, and the part that isn't smeared with abuses of their power of a character now being investigated have outflanked industry in the public arena. They have been smarter in their public relations and in shaping public attitudes and public action. They continue to be so because American Industry is afraid to speak out, because they are afraid of reprisals; they are afraid this man will shut the whole company down if they speak out. They are trying to use the mercenary approach of hiring the third parties to go out and tell the story, which has never worked in war or peace.

My time is up. I was going to touch on the auto situation over there. We are going through a revolution in the automobile industry in America. My little company has outflanked the "Big Three". We have developed a unique production position, based on exact opposition to their production philosophy. Our philosophy is make them more economical; make them smaller; make them less costly and build into them all the modern conveniences that people want.

In our automotive operations in 1956 we lost heavily. We had the problem, beginning three years ago to turn around two companies that had been losing heavily for some time, and you can't turn around in less than three years. In 1957, in ten months out of twelve we operated in the black. In the last ten months we have been acquiring dealers at an unprecedented rate. The level of dealer franchising is three times what it was earlier.

The trend to the smaller car in America is a basic new trend. It is based on the change that occurred in the use of the automobile. The auto is still revolutionizing American life. "Suburbia" is the new direction, and millions of people that have moved into the suburbs have to have two, three or four cars, and therefore they need less costly units. The new definition of a pedestrian is a man with two cars and a wife and teen age children.

And that new pattern of things let me give you the figures. Smaller cars, cars smaller than the Ford, Chev and Plymouth, took 1.2 per cent of the industry in 1955. They took 2.58 in 1956, and they are going to take at least 5 per cent in 1957, and in 1958, I will be conservative when I predict they will take at least 8 per cent of the industry. Before the '60s are over, 50 per cent of the cars in America will be smaller than the Chev, Ford and Plymouth.

A revolution is taking place. The appliance industry is straightening out. I am happy to say some intelligence is coming into it and they are getting away from the whole industry selling on the basis of price. If you want to get into a sick business get into a business where that is the only thing that counts. We think it is going to straighten out.

In conclusion, we need a strong Canada to help us solve our domestic problems in the United States. It is essential for the preservation of freedom in the United States, to develop economic and political strength in other nations to help reduce the magnitude of the responsibility now being borne in the United States.

As an American, I welcome the spirit of independence and economic ambition that is so manifest in Canada. A strong pro-Canadian attitude in Canada, coupled with your abundant natural resources can produce a Canadian nation, capable of sharing the responsibility of individual freedom and world order, based on justice and humanitarianism. It would reduce the magnitude of American responsibility, and the power exercised by the President of the United States. It is vital for Canada and other nations to achieve an economic and political status that will permit them to stand on their own feet and take part in shaping the policies of the future world.

There is one thing I want to leave you from Mexican experience. My parents went down in poverty and applied the same methods to create prosperity that had been used in the West—irrigation, dams and such. Their prosperity became such that they and other foreigners were driven out of Mexico by Maximilian. I say, thank goodness—I might still be living down there if he hadn't come along and driven them out. The thing that resulted in our people being driven out was envy. The native couldn't understand why other people there should be more prosperous than they. It was envy that resulted in the Crucifixion of the Christ, if you will remember your Scriptures.

Here stands the United States and Canada, the two most prosperous nations in the world, and the undeveloped countries of the world can't understand how we did it. They think we were just blessed by natural resources. They resent it and the enemy is using this envy and jealousy to turn people against us. Now, foreign aid helps but it is important to help them in basic economic development. I was startled to learn recently that you are putting more, per Canadian, into foreign aid than the United States is. You are small in relation to the United States, and like my company you don't get as much credit as you should.

Our greatest problems in Canada and the United States are not going to be of the economic and political character. They are going to be personal and individual problems, because our greatest problem is going to be to raise our children in the midst of abundance so they will have the strength and the capacity to deal with bigger problems than we have to deal with. Whether we have the ability to deny our children enough ease and comfort, so they will develop the right slant on life, remains to be seen. Certainly, we ought to be jolted out of complacency by what the Russians have done in sport and Sputnik. We must come to recognize the truth of what Helen Keller said, namely, that not until we can refuse to take without giving, can we create a society whose chief activity is the common welfare.

I leave with you the words of one of our great American poets:

> To side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust,
> Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just;
> Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,
> Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is crucified.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Major James Baxter, M.C., a Past President of the Club.

"NOVA SCOTIA IN THE CANADIAN SCENE"

An Address by

THE HONOURABLE ROBERT L. STANFIELD,
B.A., LL.B.
Premier of Nova Scotia

Thursday, November 7th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

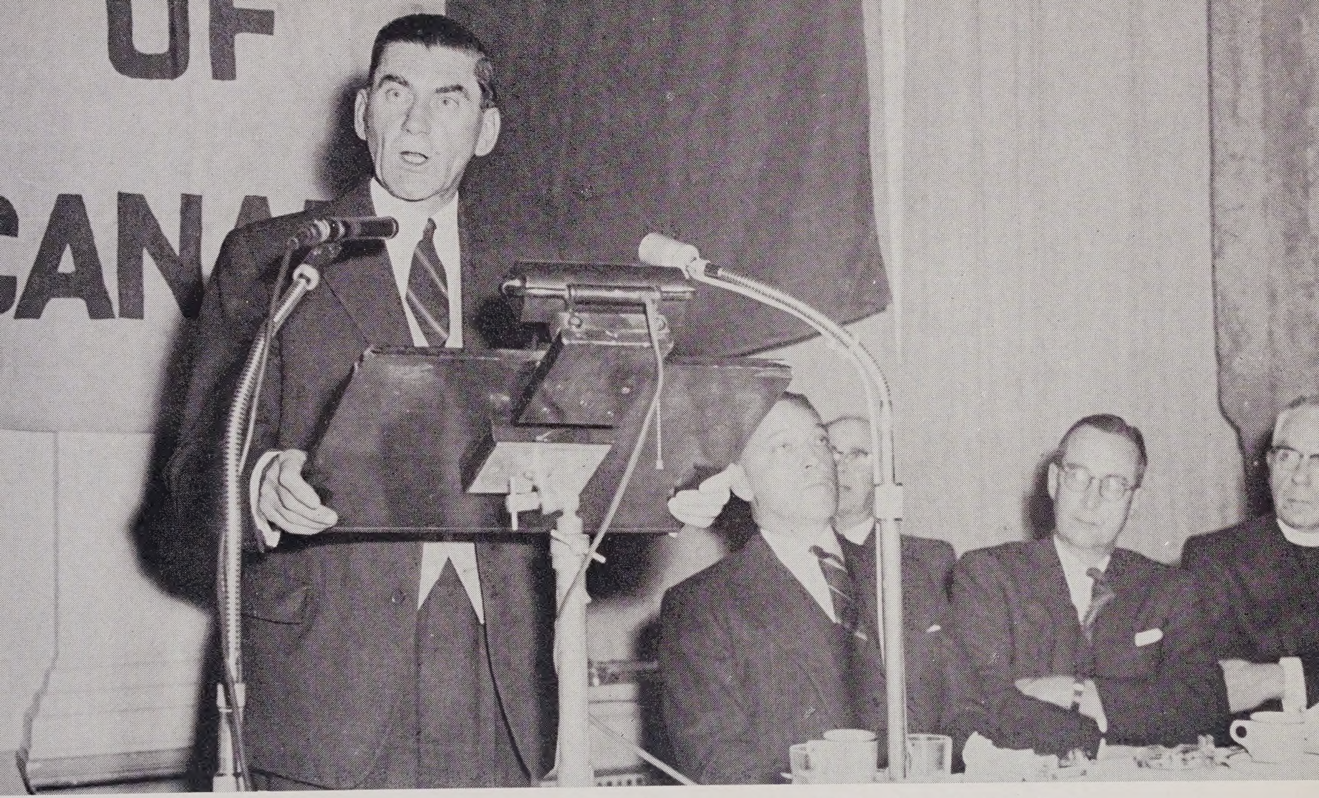
LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: We are particularly honoured and delighted to welcome The Honourable Robert L. Stanfield, B.A., LL.B.—The Premier of Nova Scotia—as our guest speaker today.

This is one of those all too rare occasions when we are to have the great privilege of being addressed by an eminent Maritimer who, to date, has achieved his greatest success in his own native province.

Mr. Stanfield was born in Truro a few months before the outbreak of World War I. His father was a four-time Member of the Legislative Assembly and, later, was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia. That the inclination towards politics was passed from father to son is clearly evident in Premier Stanfield's educational programme.

His early schooling began in Truro. As a teenager, he attended Ashbury College, Ottawa, where he won the Southam Cup—that school's trophy for both academic and athletic proficiency. At Dalhousie University, from which he graduated, at 22, as a B.A.—having specialized in political science and economics, he won the Governor General's Gold Medal for the top academic standing in

Hon. Robert L. Stanfield Meeting, November 7th, 1957. *From Left to Right:*
Hon. Leslie M. Frost; W. H. Montague; Hon. Robert L. Stanfield;
Most Rev. F. V. Allen; Hon. J. Keiller Mackay.



Lt.-Gen. Guy G. Simonds Meeting, November 14th, 1957. *From Left to Right:* Gen. Simonds; Maj.-Gen. S. F. Clark; W. H. Montague; J. P. R. Wadsworth; Rev. Bruce Millar.

his year. At Harvard Law School, he acquired the degree of Bachelor of Laws.

In 1940, at 26, he was admitted to the Bar of Nova Scotia, and was appointed to the Halifax office of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board as a Regional Rentals Officer and, later, as Enforcement Counsel.

After World War II, he practiced law in the partnership of MacInnes and Stanfield, Halifax, and this activity continued until November, 1956.

Entering politics as President of the Nova Scotia Progressive Conservative Association, he became Leader of that Association in November, 1948 and, shortly thereafter, the general election of 1949 brought Mr. Stanfield into the Legislature of Nova Scotia as the Leader of the Opposition.

On 30th October, 1956, when the results of that day's election in Nova Scotia were totalled, the Progressive Conservative Party had secured a majority of the seats in the Legislature. On 20th November, the present Government was formed with Mr. Stanfield as Premier, Provincial Treasurer and Chairman of the Nova Scotia Power Commission.

With this impressive background to draw upon, it would indeed be difficult to find a more competent Maritimer to deal authoritatively with the subject on which he will now address us—"Nova Scotia in the Canadian Scene".

Gentlemen, I am proud to introduce The Honourable Mr. Robert L. Stanfield—The Queen's First Minister for the Province of Nova Scotia.

MR. STANFIELD: It is a great privilege to be here to meet you and friends from the Maritimes.

The Province of Nova Scotia is very much a part of the Canadian scene; and Nova Scotians, themselves, are very much a part of Canada. As an Atlantic Province, Nova Scotia has ambassadors in every province in Canada and throughout the United States. Some of our ambassadors are here today; distinguished Canadians in the industrial, business, professional and commercial fields today whose birthplace is Nova Scotia.

I should make some mention also of those Nova Scotians—or a few of them—prominent in political circles today. There is our own Federal Minister, George Nowlan, Federal Minister of National Revenue, whose department's recent activities were such along Bay Street as to put Sputnik Mark Two out of the headlines. And I am sure you know that the Minister for External Affairs, Dr. Sydney Smith, is a Nova Scotian—born and raised on one of Nova Scotia's islands off the mainland.

When Dr. Smith was merely the president of Toronto University, he was even then a legend in Nova Scotia. They used to say of Dr. Smith, that, at the age of four, he used to row a boat one mile to get to school.

Since his elevation to the Canadian Government, the legend now is that Dr. Smith, at the age of *one*, used to row a boat *four* miles to get to school.

Nothing, Mr. Chairman, makes a legend grow like public office.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the purpose of my visit here is to render a kind of progress report on Nova Scotia. This is for the benefit of our "residents abroad," our many friends and, indeed, for all who care to listen.

Conditions in Nova Scotia today are generally good and the outlook is promising. The spirit of the people of Nova Scotia was never better. There is, in the province, a spirit of optimism and of confidence.

I hope—and I believe—that one of the chief reasons for this rekindled confidence and optimism has been the development, over the past few years, of a real Maritime outlook and a sincere measure of regional co-operation.

It has been easy in the past for a mistaken zeal of provincial sovereignty to lead one into a wilderness of petty chauvinism. But today, I believe all four Atlantic Provinces are learning that there is too much to be gained in co-operation and too much to be lost to allow the Atlantic provinces to be divided among themselves.

This has been a bi-partisan movement, endorsed and led certainly by the more responsible and progressive spokesmen for all political parties. Furthermore, it is being given leadership by the leading elements in the industrial and commercial life of the Atlantic area; the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council is perhaps the best example one could find to show the popular public support that the cause of Atlantic co-operation enjoys today.

Although this is by no means a new movement, it has taken recently somewhat of a novel twist in that it is achieving results. Gone are the days when the people of the Maritimes can be satisfied by slogans. They are interested only in concrete measures that bring results.

I believe the people of the Atlantic area are willing to accept measures which applied to the region may be better for one province and perhaps less so for another. My feeling is that they have wisely concluded that the economy of the Atlantic area cannot be divided by the artificial boundaries of four provinces—we must consider that the particular problem of one is the general problem of all. And, of course, this is why all four Atlantic governments want to see a causeway built which will join Prince Edward Island to New Brunswick and why we are anxious to see a federal power development program for the Maritimes that is consistent with the interests of New Brunswick. And that is why all four governments have agreed to open Atlantic House in London for the purpose of promoting the interests of the four provinces abroad.

Certainly this co-operation is a unique achievement. Mr. Flemming and myself remain leaders of Conservative parties in our respective provinces and Mr. Smallwood and Mr. Matheson leaders in their provinces. Indeed, Premier Smallwood campaigned against my party in Nova Scotia last June. Had I felt I could have afforded the time, I would have returned the compliment. But there has never been any political conflict in a partisan sense insofar as our meetings together are concerned.

The unified spirit of the people in the Atlantic Provinces has many sponsors and many champions and I perhaps should make mention here of the publication which has dedicated itself to this cause and that is The Atlantic Advocate. For those who live outside the area and would like regular injections, so to speak, of the Atlantic spirit, they can certainly obtain them from this spirited and aggressive magazine. It is with allies like this that we have made such progress.

Now, aside from this growth of the Atlantic outlook, there are other factors at work in Nova Scotia today, which make the outlook for our province a promising one. It can hardly be any secret that the very aggressive and dynamic A. V. Roe company, in looking for new worlds to conquer, have come down to Nova Scotia to do business. And I suggest the reasons for their move, which was made only after a spirited struggle, was dictated by the fact that Nova Scotia looks to them like an attractive and promising and profitable place to do business. Even though our good friend, Mr. J. S. D. Tory, is from Guysborough County, I doubt that sentiment completely explains the move.

This is a business proposition and, we believe, a sound one for A. V. Roe. Now, there have been some objections from Nova Scotians and there are perhaps some good reasons for those objections. Many Nova Scotians can look out their windows and see industries shut down and abandoned following negotiations with central Canadian companies. This has been something of a historic fact of life in the Maritimes; it is one which has coloured the attitude of the Maritimer toward Upper Canada in general and Toronto, in particular, in years gone by.

In actual fact, Mr. Chairman, it is my personal observation that, as a result of the development of Atlantic cooperation and perhaps for other reasons as well, there is less fear and resentment in the Maritimes today towards the Province of Ontario . . . which we refer to usually as "Toronto" or "Bay Street" or "those so-and-so", from Upper Canada. It is becoming difficult, if not impossible, to convince very many Maritimers that their basic problems have been created and are being multiplied by the mere fact of Ontario's existence.

It is becoming difficult, I am glad to say, to exploit regional differences to any great advantage in the Maritimes. Frankly, a lot of the goodwill which the Maritimes have today for Ontario, or Upper Canada, has been earned. It has been earned by those like Mr. Frost, Ontario's Premier, who has on several public occasions shown an understanding of and a sympathy for the Maritime problems. Nova Scotia considers him a friend.

The press of Toronto has done what is to me an eloquent task in defining Maritime conditions and, in some instances of note, championing our cause. News of this has reached home, as it were, and this has further confounded those who insist Ontario will never understand us and has added to the majority of us who uphold the view that nothing could be better for Ontario than a healthy, growing Maritime economy.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we do have our problems. Some of these we can meet ourselves and in others we need the goodwill, understanding and knowing assistance of the people of Canada. This seems to us to be the time and place in Canada's history when an all-out positive and constructive attack can be made on Maritime problems and I am confident this is going to happen. It is beginning to happen right now.

We want neither dole nor charity; spare us from a role in Confederation that will be one of chronic supplicants. The fact that we, as Nova Scotians or as Maritimers, earn less per man, owe more per man and are taxed more per man than anyone else in Canada is a clue to a part of our problem. We have been, as they say, too busy baling to fix the boat.

The people of Canada have, in their wisdom, underwritten the great Seaway project. They have, with mixed emotions apparently, underwritten the natural gas pipe line. These are great capital projects, and beyond question of great benefit to the people of Canada. But immediately they do nothing but work hardship for the Maritimes. This does not mean that we oppose these projects —far from it. The one thing that remains unchanged is the altruism that, since confederation, has distinguished the Maritime attitude toward Canada as a whole.

We are, of course, proud of our role in Confederation. Even though we were directly responsible for the merger and very quickly afterwards became minority shareholders, we are still proud of our achievement. The fact that Confederation worked to our disadvantage in many ways is a fact accepted without argument in the Atlantic area.

We gave up our railroads in the interest of a national system and have suffered for it ever since. We waived our just claims to the northern territories later awarded to other Canadian provinces and now proven to be rich in resources. We have stood aside in the national interest and seen the great seaway built and the trans-Canada pipeline laid—all the short-term prospects look to be to our obvious disadvantage.

All the while, the Maritimes have made heroic efforts to keep pace with Canada. To do so, we have had to become the highest taxed and most heavily indebted citizens in Canada. We have spent lavishly and almost beyond our means to educate our children, the majority of whom graduate from our colleges and emigrate to Upper Canada and contribute their skills to your expansion.

Speaking of education, I must comment on the increasing prestige and standing of our Maritime universities. We have, in Nova Scotia, recently added to the staff of Dalhousie University by appointing a new Chancellor. You know, of course, that the Chancellor of the University of New Brunswick is the Right Honorable Lord Beaverbrook. We believe we have found a suitable person for the position at Dalhousie in the person of the Right Honorable C. D. Howe.

Somehow, Mr. Chairman, the Maritimes continue to inspire and encourage those genuinely creative individuals in our society. In the Maritimes, art societies are flourishing in nearly every community; in the face of failure elsewhere, there are symphony orchestras and ballet groups and choral groups, the latter having been judged the finest in Canada.

And, I might add, when the need was felt to establish the Canada Council for the encouragement of arts and letters in our land, it was endowed from the estates of two outstanding Maritime-born captains of finance. It is only fair to conclude from this that the Maritimes provided much of the major cultural achievement we have had in the past and now the Maritimes have arranged the financing of future cultural achievement. We are only too happy, Mr. Chairman, to have been able to afford it.

We sometimes suffer for your success. While we were carried along in the swell of the great Canadian boom, the Bank of Canada decreed that you were suffering from inflation. Certainly we had none of the obvious symptoms.

But, as Premier Flemming said, everyone in the family had to take castor oil whether he needed it or not. And I want to stress the unequal and unreasonable hardship these nationally-imposed credit restrictions imposed on the Atlantic economy.

The present credit policy has retarded construction plans in Nova Scotia which were needed even if enterprise was to merely maintain its rate of growth. If this policy persists, it well may seriously delay the construction of the second great pulp and paper mill in Nova Scotia which is now scheduled to begin in 1959. Our own new crown company, established only a few months ago to assist in developing secondary industry, is being handicapped by these restrictions. I might add that the Chairman of the Board of the Crown Corporation to which I have referred—Industrial Estates Limited—is Mr. Horace Enman, formerly the president of the Bank of Nova Scotia.

Mr. Enman retired to Cape Breton Island and built an attractive permanent residence in Victoria County. Perhaps he had read the Gordon Commission statement that we led such a leisurely life. Well, we've put him right to work! He has graciously agreed to assist Nova Scotia in this great task.

I want to say just this final word in regard to the credit policy—So far as we in Nova Scotia are concerned, we view the policy as a unique failure and reasonably expect it to be abandoned.

Mr. Chairman, we in Nova Scotia have our problems. We are not the only ones who do. But we also are struggling to help ourselves, to raise the standards of living of the province and the area. You will have gathered from my remarks that the outlook is good. Indeed, the future has never looked better.

I say this advisedly, in face of a quite a lot of teeth-chattering talk about the economy in the months ahead. I think some of it is inspired by something other than real knowledge of economics. True, the AMERICAN economy—to which we seem inextricably tied—is pausing for breath and while it does so, perhaps we should hold ours. There are soft spots, and all is not sweetness and light.

Surely what is needed now is a lot less hole-in-the-corner pessimism and a little more practical, forward-looking realism.

We in Nova Scotia face the future with confidence.

In closing I would like to comment on the fact that last summer the Maritime Provinces were host to an unprecedented number of Canadians from Quebec and Ontario. I hope this pleasant traffic continues, not only because it is profitable to our tourist industry but because this allows us the opportunity to make new friends.

May I take this opportunity to extend a cordial invitation to all of you to visit the Canadian Maritimes in the near future. Here is where Canada was begun, here is the new land of the Acadians, the Loyalists, the victims of religious persecution in Scotland, the victims of economic blight in Ireland. And here are their descendants, on the threshold of their great day when they will become equal partners in their own hard-won enterprise of Confederation.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by The Honourable Dana H. Porter, Q.C.

"IMPACT OF STRATEGY ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS"

An Address by

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GUY G. SIMONDS,
C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., C.D.
President—Toronto Brick Company Limited
President—Frontenac Floor & Wall Tile Limited

Thursday, November 14, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: Guests and Fellow Members of The Empire Club of Canada: During World War II and for a few years thereafter, the name of today's guest speaker — Lieutenant-General Guy G. Simonds, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., C.D., was a household word to all Canadians who followed the course of the campaign. Subsequent events in the news of the day have diverted our attention from military matters as the main issue, and our memories are, at best, very short.

Consequently, today presents us with a timely opportunity to recapitulate a few highlights in the military career of one of our greatest Canadian soldiers, who has recently turned business leader on being appointed President of Toronto Brick Company, Limited, and of Frontenac Floor and Wall Tile, Limited.

Most of us can recall that General Simonds came to Canada from the United Kingdom as a small boy; attended Ashbury College, Ottawa, and the Royal Military College, Kingston; was commissioned in the Royal Canadian Artillery; graduated brilliantly from the British Army Staff College and, at the outbreak of World War II was lecturing in Tactics at the Royal Military College.

After his arrival in the United Kingdom in 1939, as a staff officer with the 1st Canadian Infantry Division, a succession of command and senior staff appointments followed. He organized and directed the first Canadian Army Staff Course; he commanded a field artillery regiment and, as Brigadier, an infantry brigade.

In 1943, he became G.O.C., 1st Canadian Infantry Division, with the rank of Major-General, and led its assault on Sicily and Italy. These operations were under the then Eighth Army Commander, General Montgomery, with whom General Simonds had previously seen service in North Africa.

General Simonds' performance in Sicily and Italy led to his promotion, early in 1944, to Lieutenant-General and G.O.C., 2nd Canadian Corps, and his subsequent brilliant leadership of that formation throughout the invasion of, and entire campaign in, North West Europe. For some weeks, during the illness of General Crerar, he commanded the entire First Canadian Army in that theatre.

At the end of World War II, General Simonds was honoured by many allied governments, as well as by his own Sovereign.

We will now have the great privilege of hearing him deal with the subject, "Impact on Strategy of Recent Developments".

Gentlemen: Lieutenant-General Guy G. Simonds, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., C.D.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIMONDS: Over the past two years, since I have been retired from the Service, I have tried, when I have had the opportunity of addressing distinguished audiences such as this to stir public interest in the subject of Defence. For two reasons: First of all, I believe the threat that confronts the free world is real and dangerous. Secondly, the proportion of effort represented in the collection of the taxpayers' money that goes in defence has been very heavy over the past few years.

We have only recently been told again that we have to expect that effort to be maintained. It is no good having a big defence effort unless it is steered and directed in the right directions.

I would like, to begin with, to review very briefly the background of this struggle in which we are engaged between the free world, on the one hand, and militant Communism on the other.

At the close of the Second World War the Western Democracies quickly disbanded and dispersed their military strength. Russia did not do so. On the contrary, if anything, she increased it and she modernized her military forces.

At first the Western Democracies were slow to realize the expansionist intentions of Communist Russia. Sir Winston Churchill called attention to it at the time of his speech at Fulton, but very few took his statement seriously, and it wasn't until the coup placing Czechoslovakia behind the iron curtain, and the Berlin Blockade, that the Western World began to realize there was truth in the words spoken by Sir Winston.

During that period the only deterrent available against Communist aggression was the possession by the United States of the atomic bomb and the means of its delivery, and the threat existed that if Russia overstepped the bounds and embarked upon an all-out war, that she would meet with retaliation, with atomic bombs on the heartland of her own country.

That provided the Western World with the opportunity to restore its military strength in face of this challenge, and to me, and some others (and I have repeated it very often), reliance on the threat of retaliation with atomic weapons as a deterrent, would last for a limited duration only. Never in history has a weapon for long remained the monopoly of a single power, and the challenge which it presented to the ambitions of Russia was such that she was bound to make a tremendous effort to try to neutralize that advantage.

I never subscribed to the ideas expounded by some for many years that we were dealing with a nation of backward peasants.

Now, there are two aspects of the strategic balance on which I particularly want to dwell this afternoon . . . the technical and the geographic . . . for the ability of the United States, with its Strategic Air Command to neutralize Russian aggression has depended upon maintaining a technical lead in atomic and thermonuclear weapons and the means of their delivery, and the possession of a group of geographic bases closely hemming the U.S.S.R. and her Communist allies.

I have cautioned from time to time against what I believe to be the danger of putting all our eggs in one basket and having an over-dependence upon this air atomic concept, for one could foresee the time when at least it would be brought into balance and neutralized. When the offensive in aerial warfare has such an advantage over the defensive that neither side had a really effective defence, inevitably it seemed a situation would arise where each side could equally threaten the other with total destruction, and neither side would be willing to embark upon a thermonuclear exchange.

We would then be thrown back upon dependence on conventional power which we were sadly ignoring and the Russians obviously were not.

Now, I would refer again those two strategic factors—technology and geography. Neutralized as she was by this threat, logic indicated that Russia's first aim would be to eliminate or equalize it. They used enormous scientific and technological drive, not only to equal, but to surpass the military power of thermonuclear weapons of the Western World. If she could neutralize that advantage, then she could set about the process of aggression by proxy, stirring up satellites or others into open conflict to continue the process which had been halted, of gradual absorption of the rest of the world.

Gentlemen, it seems to me there is no disagreement between western political leaders on the objective of Communist Russia. It was stated again the other day, both by Mr. MacMillan and Mr. Eisenhower. It is to dominate the world, and she can do that as well by a process of slow erosion and nibbling away as she can by an all-out thermonuclear exchange. From the Russian point of view they want to take over a world that is more or less intact and a going concern, and not a heap of wreckage, charged with radio-activity. If the U.S.S.R. is able to neutralize the Western World's technological advantage she has the power and geographical position to again set about aggression by conventional means.

She has gained the advantage momentarily in the technological field, and I would say the next step would be to try and gain such an advantage in a geographical sense that if and when the technological balance becomes equalized again, she will in fact occupy the dominant position of power in the world.

Why has she succeeded in surpassing the technological lead on which the West has relied too heavily? We have heard the reaction of political leaders in the past few days to the shock they have received, saying, We must have more scientists.

Gentlemen, I would say to you that is a typical political response, because if you think on that statement for a moment, you cannot place responsibility anywhere. Is it the fault of our youth who are not interested in science and won't take science courses? It is the fault of our universities who are unable to teach science? Is it the fault of our society that will not offer sufficient opportunity to scientists? Where does the fault lie? You cannot say. It is a good way of brushing off an unpleasant situation.

But I would say to you that the Russian successes are not successes of science, they are successes in the conduct of human affairs. I believe we don't need any more scientists in the western world. We may need better ones. I would doubt that very much. I have had the privilege from time to time of meeting individuals who I would regard as very great scientists and very great men but our scientific efforts have been misdirected by the intervention of vested interests. We have not taken our problems objectively and given our scientists direction to which their efforts should be addressed. That is where we have fallen down.

Now, I am not saying that we do not want to expand our base of scientific knowledge—that we do not want to devote more effort to basic research. But I would put my finger on this major fault—on faulty direction of our efforts. We want our scientists, first, above all, to stick to their last, to stick to their laboratories and turn out the essential answers. I think it would be very much better if they left strategy and international politics to those who have made a life study of those subjects, and devoted their attention to those things for which they are eminently qualified. Nor do I think that we want to indulge in such Hollywood claptrap as "glamourizing the egghead".

The really great scientist is not motivated by desire to become a "glamourized egghead" . . . he is led to achievement by his interest and devotion to the problems for which he is trying to expand the field of human knowledge.

I think any young men that we might recruit into the field of science because they thought they would like to be "glamourized eggheads" will make no contribution to science, whatsoever.

What we need now to recover from our present position is a clear direction of our scientific effort to those things which matter most. Not only have we had misdirection, but too much of our technical and scientific manpower is absorbed in making a marginal improvement in the motor car or refrigerator that Mrs. Jones bought last week, so they can offer a better one to Mrs. Smith next week, and not to the really important developments which are necessary for the salvation of our society. That direction must be devoid of the influence of vested interests.

Now, let me come to the geographic factor. We have to hold the whole free world together. I think that in Canada we too meekly subscribed to the fallacious strategy of a "fortress North America". It is only the modern version of the Maginot Line mentality. Regardless of what sphere of military activity you are considering, whenever you have a situation where attack has a very marked superiority over defence, you make a very bad investment when you invest in defence. There was far more excuse for the French embarking upon the idea of the Maginot Line than there has ever been for a strategy of a "fortress North America", for at that period there was a very close balance between attack and defence on land and so many theorists believed, that the defensive works could be made unassailable.

The difference which was decisive at that period was the elusive factor of morale and not very much more.

Today the superiority of attack over defence in the air is of a totally different order and to spend money on passive defence in such circumstances is money badly spent. Until such time as we have in sight a defence which will be really effective against both the manned bomber and the missile, our own real defence lies in the threat of retaliation in kind. That is the stark reality.

In the Second World War when attack depended upon mass bomber formations getting through to their targets, not with a single raid, but a whole succession of raids to knock out and to keep suppressed any important target area, if the defence could inflict a rate of attrition of something of the order of ten or fifteen per cent per raid against the attacker they could turn back the attack before total destruction could be inflicted on a target area.

An attrition rate of that order meant that in three or four raids an attacking force had lost something like fifty per cent of its original strength and no force could withstand a loss rate of that order in terms of aircraft and trained crews.

Today the problem is totally different. It requires one aircraft only to get through once to a major city and not only is the greater part of it obliterated but it is the opinion of scientists that that city could not be again reentered for some thirty-five years, because of the residual radioactivity.

So it requires a defence of the order of ninety-nine to one-hundred per cent effective. This is not attainable in terms of the radar controlled, winged fighter. I have said so repeatedly over a considerable period.

We have wasted some two hundred or three hundred million dollars on the production of the CF105 Fighter. I listened to an address about four weeks ago by the Minister of National Defence and he made the statement that the CF105 Fighter would have a useful service life of ten years. My first reaction to that was to try to think of any combat airplane which has had a service life of even five years, and I couldn't think of one. I doubt if anybody in this room could think of one either.

I am not speaking of transports like the old work horse, the Dakota. That was a civilian aircraft adapted to military purposes. I am speaking of combat aircraft, military fighters and bombers. Try to think ten years ahead, then turn back the pages and look fifteen years back in the past. The pace of scientific development is increasing, not decreasing. Fifteen years back takes us to 1942. The jet aircraft was not in existence. Atomic energy had not been harnessed. There were no atomic bombs, no thermonuclear weapons, no atomic submarines. All that has been achieved and has come into being in a period of fifteen years.

We know that even if it is only in prototype form, the intercontinental ballistic missile has been successfully fired by the Russians. The CF105 has not yet flown.

It is the prediction of the best authorities whom you can ask that with the prototype already flying, the Russians will have intercontinental ballistic missiles in quantity and of improved accuracy within a period of two or three years. How is an airplane which has never flown to be in squadron service in that period of time? It is impossible. And even if possible, the ICBM will then be the major threat, not the bomber. It won't happen, and it would be much better to admit an error and re-examine our position than to go on trying to defend bad decisions of the past.

I want to speak for a moment on the subject of civil defence. Up until very recently it was the policy of Civil Defence to evacuate cities. I don't know how many millions of dollars have been spent evolving and developing plans to that end.

I have maintained for a very long time they are quite impracticable. From personal experience, Gentlemen, I have controlled in the field forces in the order of 200,000 men. They were disciplined troops, constantly rehearsed in the form of training for the roles they had to fulfill in movement and battle. They were especially equipped with the best equipment that could be provided to make them mobile. They were supported by a vast administrative machine to provide them with all the means of living and fighting. Yet, I can assure you it was not an easy task to manoeuvre and control a force of that size. We have glibly talked of evacuating cities with populations of two or three hundred thousand without any rehearsal, without individuals knowing what they are supposed to do or where they are supposed to go. Is there any possibility of such a scheme working? None!

The policy of evacuation is supposed to depend upon what is called a period of strategic warning. It is assumed we would have a warning of imminent danger some three or four weeks before evacuation had to be put into effect, during which it could be organized and done in stages.

Two or three weeks ago Mr. Khrushchev was making very threatening statements and very threatening gestures in regard to Syria, Turkey and the Middle East and they still go on. Does anyone know to what limit Mr. Khrushchev is prepared to go in pressing what he believes to be an advantage there?

Mr. Eisenhower doesn't know. Mr. MacMillan doesn't know. Mr. Diefenbaker doesn't know. The only ones who know are Mr. Khrushchev and possibly a very small group of his closest associates.

If this idea of strategic warning was to have any effect at all, it would have had to have been put into effect three or four weeks ago, because if the real thing comes we will certainly get no better indication of Russia's intentions then we were given at that time.

Well, it is now being admitted that a policy of evacuation may not be effective and the latest scheme is to designate civil defence as the primary role of the militia. Gentlemen, I think that may very well result in the disintegration and destruction of the Militia. There are a great many people who would like to see that. Some have expressed the view openly, that the Army has no longer any role in future war. Others, not so open and frank about it, have been surreptitiously working towards the same end.

A soldier will do what he is told. We had ample proof in the years we spent in England before active campaigning started that the trained and disciplined soldier is highly adaptable. At no notice at all, he assisted in civil defence in the United Kingdom. He went out to help with the harvest, he went into factories on occasion, to help clear bottlenecks in war production. The trained soldier is very adaptable, and he will do what he is told when it comes to meeting an emergency. But take away his pride in being a soldier, and you will have nothing at all . . . absolutely nothing. I seriously doubt whether the young men who in the past have been attracted toward service in the Militia are going to be attracted toward the role of a civil defence corps. In fact, the strategic situation which we face today is that within the next two or three years the Russians are at least going to be our equal in their power to threaten thermonuclear destruction and if they do not perhaps maintain a lead, they have this tremendous preponderance with which they can set about the over-running of the balance of the Eurasian Continent. It is not an exaggeration to say that the fate of the Middle East and Europe today hangs in the balance.

You have been told by the Supreme Commanders of NATO, repeatedly, that the forces there are inadequate and the defence of Western Europe depends upon the ability to build up rapidly and reinforce that thin shield which is there.

A year ago the regular element of the Army was severely cut back, in order to save the money to produce the CF105. Today a severe blow has been delivered against the future effectiveness of the Militia as a military reserve to back up commitments overseas. The strategic balance today between the three elements, I would say is something like this. I don't think anyone can dispute that in the air the offensive is completely in the ascendent. On the sea, the offensive is also in the ascendent, because the effort required to counter the threat of attack by the modern submarine is infinitely greater than is the effort required to create that threat.

But it is still possible to maintain sea lines of communication open. The most difficult problem of all is to avoid a devastating loss of shipping in the first few days when ships are on their normal courses, unprotected at sea and exposed to submarine attack.

Once a proper system can be organized sea communications can be protected by the combination of sea and air power.

Only on land is there still some balance between attack and defence. In Korea, the Chinese and North Korean Communists were, with complete air superiority against them, able to stabilize a front. Yet, it is on land where we are taking the biggest risk at the present time.

There is the very clear indication that if we continue to lose these land areas and their peoples, we can never regain them. That was the lesson of Hungary. If we don't support them and hold them within the Western camp, and we lose them, I do not believe we can ever regain them in the circumstances of the military balance as it exists today.

Yet that is where we are taking the biggest risk. It comes back to this fatal policy of "fortress North America", and neglecting to provide the means of supporting and reinforcing these areas overseas. If the rest of the free world with all its resources and manpower falls under Communist domination, then I would say it will be a very short time before "fortress North America" will be eliminated.

I would not like to end by sounding an alarmist note. I think we have to face the fact that the Russians have, as at this present time, a technological lead, something we have never believed to be possible, and have dreaded. To what extent they can play on that advantage depends on how many of these weapons they now have and their limit of accuracy. Have they got them in hundreds, have they got them in thousands? Is their accuracy at terminal range—ten miles, twenty miles or thirty miles?

Whatever the numbers of ICBMs the USSR may have now and whatever their present accuracy, in two or three years it seems to be the considered opinion of scientists that these deadly missiles can be extremely accurate and the Russians will have large numbers of them. The first essential step, therefore, is to make sure that before that situation arises we also have a means of retaliation which is invulnerable because strategic air command at that point will be extremely vulnerable. The next essential technological step is to devise a really effective defence against these weapons, for the side which has both an effective defence and the means of attack has the world in the palm of its hand.

It is my conviction that you will never see these weapons used and that the real danger that faces us in this period now is that Russia will step by step take over the rest of the world until we stand isolated—cowering in our "fortress North America".

I would say, Gentlemen, it is not enough for Western leaders at this point to say we have to spend more money. In so far as the development of the missile is concerned, more money is not going to make a great deal of difference to the pace of any program in the next few months. After further research and development, when it comes to production, perhaps, yes.

But I believe that what Mr. Eisenhower will have to be so bold as to say, is this. He has got to tell the people of the United States, and Mr. Diefenbaker has got to tell us, the people of this country, that if Freedom is going to survive we have to be prepared to fight for it in distant places and we have to take now all the steps necessary to enable us to do so speedily and with effect.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Brigadier W. S. Rutherford.

“MEDICAL EVIDENCE IN A COURT OF LAW”

An Address by

I. M. RABINOWITCH, O.B.E., D.Sc., M.D., C.M., F.R.C.P.(C), F.A.C.P., F.I.Biol.(E)
Recently Retired Associate Professor of Medicine and Lecturer in Medical Jurisprudence and Toxicology, McGill University

Thursday, November 21st, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: Consultant in the McGill-Montreal General Hospital Research Institute and in The Department of Metabolism and Toxicology of the Montreal General Hospital, and Honorary Consultant in Internal Medicine at the Montreal Children's Hospital, and recently retired Associate Professor of Medicine and Lecturer in Medical Jurisprudence and Toxicology at McGill University—to-day's guest speaker, Dr. L. M. Rabinowitch, will speak to us from a background of experience and achievement that has carried him to the summit of his profession.

I. M. Rabinowitch, O.B.E., D.Sc., M.D., C.M., F.R.C.P.(C.), F.A.C.P., F.I.Biol.(E.), and Member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, is not a native of Canada, having been born in Philadelphia, Pa., but it was our good luck that he came here in his youth; received most of his education in Toronto and at McGill University in Montreal and, after World War I service in the R.C.A.M.C., elected to advance his medical career in Montreal by interning at The Montreal

General Hospital. In 1921 he organized the Department of Metabolism in that hospital and was its Director until 1947. Also in 1921 he organized a Clinic for Diabetes in the same hospital and was its Director until 1947 when it was the largest of its kind in Canada and the second largest in North America.

In 1922, he was appointed to the teaching staff of the Faculty of Medicine at McGill University as assistant demonstrator, and rapidly climbed the ladder until he became associate professor a few years later. For over 25 years, before his recent retirement, his responsibilities at McGill included lecturing on medical jurisprudence and toxicology, including industrial toxicology.

McGill University honoured Dr. Rabinowitch in 1932 by awarding him the degree of Doctor of Science. He is the twenty-fourth recipient of this degree, which is the highest in science that McGill has to offer.

The Government of Canada requested Dr. Rabinowitch to organize and direct a scientific expedition to study the nutrition of Eskimos in Canada's Eastern Arctic in 1935. It reached as far north as Craig Harbour and accumulated highly valuable data.

The Government and its National Research Council made use of his experience in toxicology, soon after the outbreak of World War II, by sending him to the United Kingdom to determine how Canada could assist if the enemy resorted to chemical warfare. In 1940, he organized No. 1 Canadian Chemical Warfare Defence Unit, Canadian Army Oversas, and he also represented the Canadian Army Overseas in "defence against gas" matters. He returned to Canada on appointment as Scientific Adviser on Chemical Warfare to the national Director of Civil Air Raid Precautions, and continued in that capacity until war's end.

In 1949, Dr. Rabinowich was made an Honorary Fellow of the Clinical Society of the New York Diabetes Association, and was elected an honorary life member of the Canadian Dietetic Association.

Doctor, scientist, writer, mathematician, philosopher, archaeologist, authority on comparative religion, and now an experimental agriculturalist in Lac Paquin, Quebec—

he will give us his views on "Medical Evidence in a Court of Law".

Gentlemen—it is my great privilege to introduce Dr. Rabinowitch.

DR. RABINOWITCH: Eighteen hundred years ago, the Brahmin Bidpai, said, in one of his Fables, that a cat has nine lives. Four hundred years ago, the English dramatist, John Heywood, said in one of his Proverbs that a woman has nine lives. No one, to my knowledge, has ever said that a man has nine lives. Yet this is not my nineth, but my twelfth revival since my retirement, when I believed myself to have been completely and permanently interred, and for this signal honour I thank you.

But it is no occasion for vanity when one recalls the invitation from the farmer to his son's school-teacher.

As the story goes, the farmer had invited the school-teacher to his home, and, as the school-teacher entered the farmer's house, he said to the farmer: "Your son is very kind; he opened the gate for me"; to which the farmer replied: "Oh, that is nothing; he does that for the cows every day."

Coming to the stated topic, perhaps it may be useful to define the term "medical expert witness". Nothing may be more dull, yet nothing may be more essential than definition. One wonders how many a long and wearisome debate would have been deflated into a single paragraph had the participants followed Socrates, Aristotle and Voltaire, and first defined their terms. What then is meant by "medical expert witness"?

Generally speaking, a witness in a Court of Law is required to testify only as to facts. The Court is not interested in his opinion on the matter at issue, on which the Court must form its own opinion. At times, however, questions arise in which competence to form an opinion can be acquired only by special study or by special experience. In such a case, the opinion of a witness so qualified is both relevant and admissible as evidence, and such a witness is known as an expert witness. If the matter at issue is a medical matter, the witness is a medical expert witness.

But this definition does not suffice for the present purpose, because of the special status of physicians. Very often the evidence of a physician is of a mixed character. He may, for example, be asked to describe an injury, or the general condition of an injured person, or any other thing he may have observed at his examination. All of this is testimony as to facts only. Here, therefore, he is an ordinary witness. But, being a physician, he may then be asked for his opinion about the cause of the injury, and about possible consequences. Here he is testifying as an expert witness. Any physician therefore —whether he is a specialist in some particular branch of medicine, or whether he is a general practitioner—may be a medical expert witness. The weight a Court will attach to the opinion is another matter. This will depend, inter alia, upon the Court's opinion of the witness' qualifications.

By "medical expert witness", I mean one who, from a special study of a particular branch of medicine, and thus from greater experience in that field than is reasonably to be expected of the general practitioner, is able to express opinions upon facts which are admitted, or upon facts which are proved by himself, or upon facts which have been proved by other witnesses in his hearing at the trial, or which are matters of common knowledge. They must be opinions which can be formed only as a result of special study and experience, and not about matters upon which the court—judge and jury—is able to form its own opinion. In addition to those qualifications, a medical expert witness is expected to be able to construct hypotheses from facts.

The history of this type of medical expert witness could alone form the subject-matter of an interesting talk. Suffice it, here, to say, he is of comparatively recent date, and the reason is not far to seek.

Existence of such medical expert witnesses implies opportunity to acquire a degree of medical knowledge more than the ordinary, and here is an example of opportunity under Babylonian Law:—

> "If a doctor shall operate on the eye of a man with a copper lancet and that man shall lose his eye, the

> eye of the doctor, with a copper lancet shall be put out."
>
> "If he operate on a wound and the patient die, his hand is to be cut off."

As the archaeologist, Leonard Woolley put it, one may well imagine why the doctor of that day preferred to use charms rather than the knife.

Egyptian law later gave the physician some protection, but only provided he confined his practice to fixed standards, which, therefore was little more conducive towards advancement of medical knowledge.

But even centuries later—eight hundred years after Socrates and Plato, Aristotle and Hippocrates, after Euclid and Ptolemy—if a nobleman died, his doctor was handed over to the family to do with him as they pleased. This was the Visigoth Code (c. 410 C.E.) And in 580—two centuries later—Guntram, King of Burgundy, executed two doctors because they had failed to cure his wife of plague. In 1337, an eye surgeon was thrown into the Oder because he failed to cure John of Bohemia of his blindness. And less than five hundred years ago—in 1464—over two hundred and fifty years after Roman Law had made fault the test of liability—Matthias, King of Hungary, offered a reward for the cure of a wound from which he suffered, but with the proviso that, if the treatment failed, the doctor was to be put to death.

Coming more closely to the stated topic, when Samuel Butler cynically misinterpreted the meaning of the Psalmist's outburst of praise—"One day in Thy courts is better than one thousand", he had in mind the tribulations of the litigant, who often spends many a tiresome day in court corridors waiting for his case to be called, and then many a distressing hour when it has been called. The ordinary witnesses in the case are little less discomforted, for they are not allowed in the Court room until they are called to give their evidence, and little provision is made for them in the waiting rooms outside. Medical expert witnesses are in a different category. Since their evidence is not affected by that of the other witnesses, they are generally permitted to attend the proceedings, which gives them free of cost post-graduate training in human nature as eye-witnesses under exceptionally revealing conditions.

Samuel Butler could, however, well have included physicians in his cynicism for other reasons.

Most physicians, when they enter upon their duties of their medical career, feel and hope that it may never be their lot to become acquainted with a court of law, and still less with the environment of the witness-stand. This may seem curious, for to serve the ends of justice is as noble and essential a duty as it is to treat the sick. But there are reasons.

One is professional secrecy. Deeply ingrained in physicians, because of the Oath of Hippocrates, and his undergraduate training, is that discussing the illness of a patient with others, even when there is nothing to conceal, is most reprehensible.

There is then the uneasiness that that to which the doctor is asked to testify about his patient may be actionable in law, either (a) as a breach of an obligation to maintain professional secrecy or (b) on grounds of defamation of character; or his testimony may be in violation of a Statute, as for example the Venereal Disease Act. When he discusses this with counsel, and counsel tells him that "privileged communications" belong to a difficult and complicated branch of law, it does not exactly ease his anxiety. If, by accident, he violates the law, but is a member of a Medical Protective Association, he will not suffer financially. Also there are some simple rules to guide him in most cases, and the Court, if appealed to, will protect him. All of this, of course, applies to his own patients. But overriding all, in any case, is the intense dislike to have to disagree in public with another physician's opinion on a medical matter. Because of these, and other reasons, it is general experience in Courts of Law that, notwithstanding the fact that physicians are university-educated persons, as a group, doctors make poor witnesses.

In a small community, the doctor has no alternative. There, he is the family physician; also probably the surgeon; also possibly the Public Health Officer; also possibly the coroner, and he may have assigned to him every other duty for which, because of his medical training, he is particularly fitted. It recalls the story about the merchant who was the "big frog in the small puddle".

A travelling salesman had visited a small village and had sold the proprietor of its general store a bill of goods. When the goods arrived they were not as represented. The merchant consequently returned them. The wholesaler, then attempted to collect the account and drew a sight-draft on the merchant through the local bank, which returned the draft unhonoured. The wholesaler then wrote to the post-master about the financial standing of the merchant, and the post-master replied it was excellent. The wholesaler, therefore, finally wrote to the local lawyer, instructing him to collect the account, and this was the reply he received, by return mail:—

"The undersigned is the merchant on whom you attempted to palm off your worthless goods. The undersigned is the president of the bank to whom you sent your sight-draft. The undersigned is the post-master to whom you wrote, and the undersigned is the lawyer whose services you sought to obtain for your nefarious business. If the undersigned were not also the pastor of the church at this place, he would tell you to go to the devil."

But to overcome this dislike of courts of law, lawyers are not very helpful. When medical expert testimony, in its presently understood sense, came into being in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1553), it was introduced in a Court of Law in England in these words:

> "If matters arise in our law which concern other sciences and faculties, we commonly apply for the aid of that science or faculty which it concerns, which is an honourable and commendable thing in our law, for thereby, it appears that we do not despise all other sciences but our own, but we approve of them and encourage them as things worthy of commendation."

But, notwithstanding this approval, encouragement and commendation, through the centuries, to this day, jurists, even at the highest levels, have taken a dim view of expert evidence.

One hundred years ago, Lord Campbell, Lord Chancellor of England, renowned jurist of his day, gave it as his final judgment, after the experience of a lifetime at the Bar and on the Bench, that expert witnesses came with such a bias on their minds to support the cause in which they had embarked, that hardly any weight should be given to their evidence.

More recently in England, Cockburn, Chief Justice, a little more emollient, observed—I quote verbatim—"it was in the nature of things that those who gave scientific evidence should lean slightly to the side upon which they are giving their testimony, not from any dishonest intention, but from a perfectly natural and human feeling, as in such cases a man was apt to look with a keener eye on those things favourable to his own side than those which are unfavourable."

These are opinions about experts in all fields. Referring more specifically to medical expert witness, in England, Bovill, Chief Justice, observed—again quoting verbatim —"The great misfortune, or defect, hitherto has been that medical men, like any other professional men, have been too much in the habit of making themselves partisans in endeavouring to support the particular views of the parties on whose behalf they have been called, and this has led to conflict of opinion not very creditable to the profession."

Not very pleasant; but these views are not difficult to understand. In the examination-in-chief, everything the medical expert witness says in the replies to questions put to him by counsel favours counsel's client. In the cross-examination, the medical expert witness counters, if not everything, almost everything, opposing counsel puts to him as contrary evidence. But the reason is not far to seek, and, if I may respectfully suggest, is not as much appreciated by the legal profession as it might be.

If he is to do justice to himself; if his conduct on the witness-stand is to reflect honour upon the university that had graduated him, and, if he is to reflect honour on the profession of which he is a member, no medical expert witness, aware of these responsibilities, will enter a witness-stand unprepared. He will not consent to testify in a case until he has made a very careful study of all the of the known facts in the case, medical and non-medical, and, in a criminal trial, until he has seen the accused and put questions to him, the significance of which, whether in his favour or not, the accused cannot possibly appreciate, not being a physician. Nor will he enter the witness-stand until after a conference, or, where necessary, a number of conferences with counsel, and thus, not before he has had every opportunity to differentiate to the best of his ability between (a) well-established medical facts and generally accepted, but not as yet thoroughly established medical facts, and (b) between such facts and theory. Where he resorts to theory, it is theory on a sound factual basis, and not a product of uncontrolled imagination. If, after such searching analysis, he is firmly convinced of the corrections of his opinions he consents to testify in the case. If a medical expert witness has not a firm conviction that his views are correct, he has no business as a witness in the case.

But, whatever one's opinion may be of medical expert testimony, the fact remains that it must be reckoned with in a very large proportion of cases. There are many cases that cannot be equitably decided without it, and many more in which it is a vital link in establishing facts. Uneasy as he may feel, who but a doctor can assist a Court of Law in arriving at justice where the matter at issue is a medical matter? In a civil case, when a person, because of having suffered a bodily injury, sues for medical costs, who but a physician can assist the Court in determining the actual degree of the injury? In a criminal trial very often the crucial facts are the medical facts.

Not infrequently, Courts of Law do not benefit to the extent possible from medical expert evidence, and, for this, may I respectfully suggest, lawyers are to blame. For this there are many reasons. Three will here suffice, and the first is the qualifying of the medical expert witness by counsel.

The value of the expert in a Court of Law is, to a considerable extent, dependent upon his reputation. A medical expert witness, therefore, does not appear to the best advantage unless he is fully qualified by counsel before he is questioned about the case. One tactical error, therefore, is when, after one or two questions, because opposing counsel states that he is satisfied with the status of the witness, counsel who has called the witness asks no further questions. This may be a compliment to the witness, and the learned judge may be satisfied, but, in a trial by jury the probability is that few or none at all of these twelve men know anything about the witness.

Another tactical error—and not an uncommon practice—is to say to the witness: "State your qualifications." This is embarrassing. I believe it was Montaigne who said that "one never speaks of one's self without some detriment to the person spoken of", and certainly repeated use of the first person pronoun is in this category. To a jury, it appears—and it appears to the witness—like a "peacock preening its feathers", and the more the qualifications the more does it appear as exhibitionism, vanity, and conceit. The result is that the witness restricts himself to one or two, or, at the most, three only of his qualifications, which is most unjust to counsel's client who may be relying to a large extent upon the witness, especially if the witness is particularly well qualified. The proper procedure, if I may suggest, is that counsel have before him all of the facts about the medical expert witness' qualifications, and, with this as a guide, ask him whether he is so-and-so; whether of such and such a scientific publication he is the author, etc., the reply to each of which will be in the affirmative.

Another fault is in the preparation of the case. It is not enough for the medical expert witness to know his subject. It is also his duty to fully familiarize counsel with the basic premises on which his expert opinions rest, and the circumstances and details which had led to these opinions. This may require much time—often a full day or more—and this counsel with a busy practice may not find it possible to give. Nevertheless, the assistance which the expert medical witness is able to give the Court is in direct proportion to the extent to which the case was prepared. It is only at such conference that a medical fact, not previously known to the expert medical witness, and of paramount importance, may be discovered. Or, though the fact was known to him, its medical significance was not fully appreciated, because of not having known about some non-medical fact in the case. Not infrequently —and I now speak from personal experience—upon such a fact alone, may be sufficient to rest the entire case, as far as the medical aspects of it are concerned. If counsel does not consent to such conference, time-consuming as it may be, the only alternative for the medical expert witness is to refuse to give evidence, for, if he does not retire from the case, he is neither just to himself, to his university, to his profession; nor is he just to the person who is paying him his fee.

It is also not satisfactory to ask a medical expert for his opinion, and not ask him to state his reasons. Juries, as judges, are far more impressed with reasoned exposition than with unsupported assertion.

A question often asked by undergraduate students is this: To what extent, if any, should a medical expert witness assist counsel in cross-examination of opposing medical expert witnesses. How far has a medical man the moral right—and thus the right in accordance also with medical ethics—to make use of his professional knowledge in this respect?

The answer, as I see it, is clear. It is absolutely wrong, from the standpoint of medical ethics, to assist counsel in embarrassing a medical witness who has expressed an opinion to the best of his ability, when that opinion was based upon evidence generally accepted in medical science as fact, adverse as his opinion may be. Under no circumstances whatever is a physician to assist counsel to embarrass the witness, when the witness is telling the truth. The attitude of a medical expert witness should be directed entirely to establishing the medical facts "let the chips fall where they may". He is a scientist; it is counsel's duty to fight the case, not his. What a medical expert witness may do, and what, in fact, it is his duty to do, is call the attention of counsel, when the witness has expressed an opinion based upon what he believed to be a fact, but which is definitely known not to be a fact. To correct an erroneous statement is a duty, and no strictly scientific witness can reasonably object to such assistance. Only sound argument can promote justice, and the first duty of a physician is not that of a physician, but of citizenship—"The practice of medicine is . . . a treaty with society."

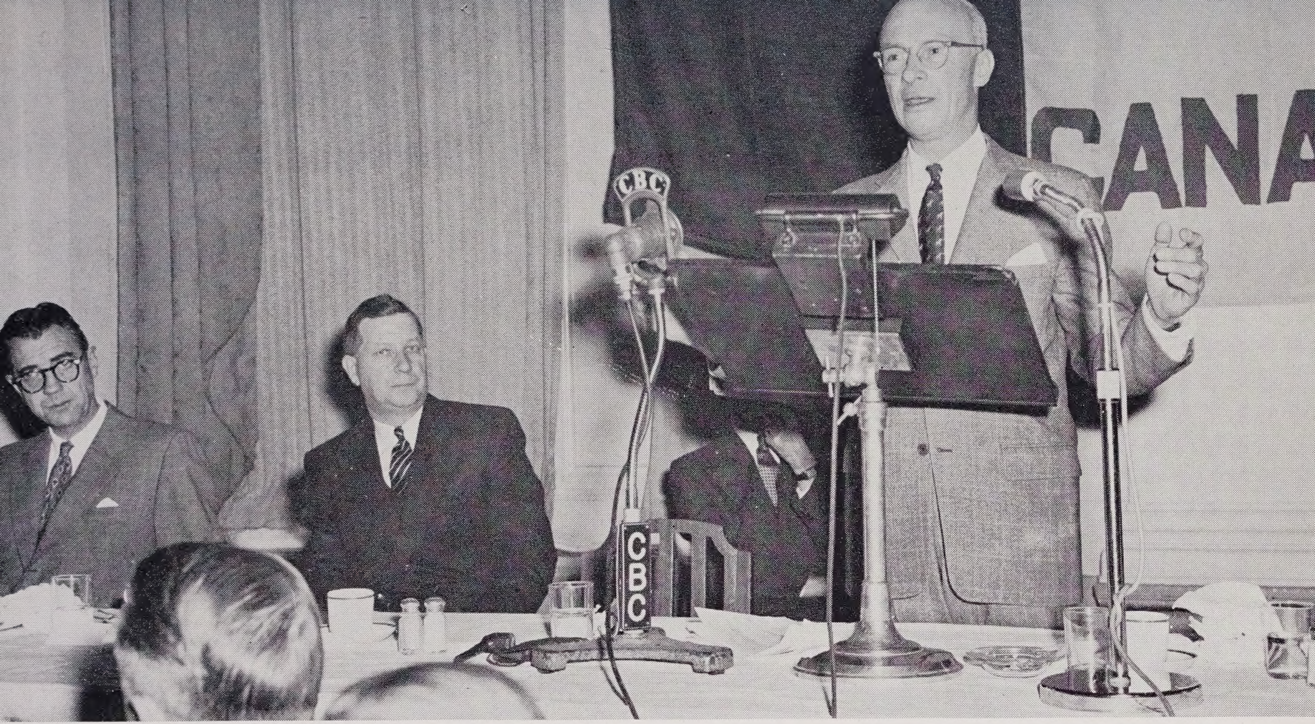
The real guide for the conduct of a medical expert witness—whether he should or should not, in a given set of circumstances, assist counsel in the cross-examination—is this: Will that assistance enable both medical expert witnesses to have that respect for each other after the trial which they had for each other before the trial?

Medical expert evidence in Courts of Law has its lighter sides, and, as this is a luncheon, perhaps, in closing, it would seem to be the more appropriate dish. A personal experience some time ago, at a trial for murder, therefore, comes to mind, because of the very human touch.

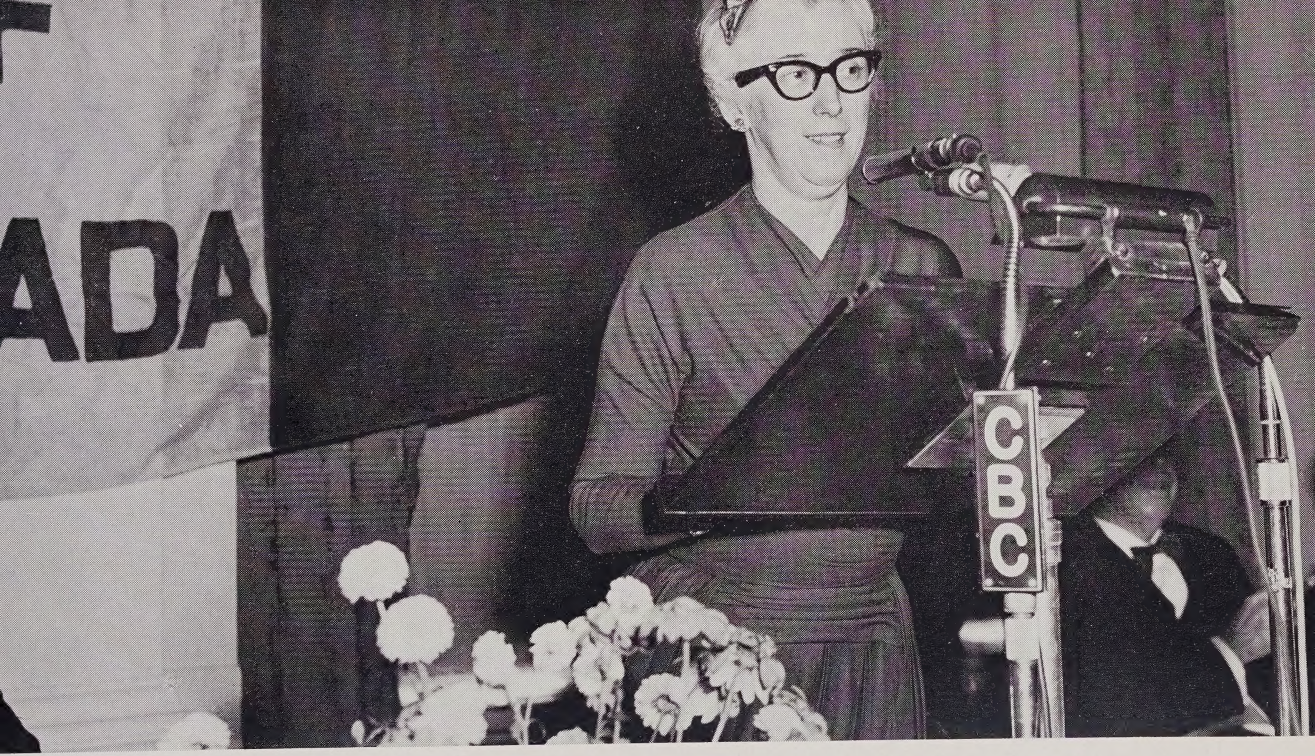
It was a trial for murder by arsenical poisoning, and the deceased had lived for sixteen days after the onset of his illness. Generally, acute arsenical poisoning causes death within about eight hours, or still less, from shock; whereas, if the person lives for such length of time as sixteen days, one of the causes of death is disease of the kidneys. But kidney disease may be caused by many conditions and, in a trial for murder, the Crown's proof of the guilt of the accused must be beyond reasonable doubt. Therefore, if the deceased had died from kidney disease, and if the defence is able to show that, though the signs and symptoms were consistent with acute arsenical poisoning, they were also consistent with disease of the kidneys not caused by arsenic, a doubt has been raised, and the defendant is entitled to the benefit of the doubt.

In this case, the post-mortem examination, in fact, showed that the deceased had died from kidney disease. Furthermore, no arsenic had been found in the body. Counsel for the accused, therefore, put questions to me about disease of the kidneys. In the course of this questioning, the learned judge put a question to me, to which I replied; but, at the time, I could see no connection whatever between this question and the case. Nor was this the only question which he put to me, which seemed to me entirely unrelated to the case. In fact, this mysterious questioning continued for about fifteen minutes.

At the close of my evidence, on my return to Mont-



WILLIAM E. WILLIAMS MEETING, DECEMBER 5TH, 1957. *From Left to Right:* R. B. Harris; W. Leo Knowlton; W. H. Montague; William E. Williams.



Hon. Ellen L. Fairclough Meeting, December 12th, 1957.

real, his lordship and I found ourselves by accident in the same chair-car. But, though we knew each other, it would have been improper on my part to refer to the case in our conversation, since the trial had not as yet ended. His lordship himself, however, introduced the subject and commented upon my evidence. Here, therefore, I thought I might ask him in what manner these questions which he had put to me had a connection with the case. To this the reply was: "There was no connection." His lordship had been told by his physician that he was suffering from a bladder condition, and, for this, it would be advisable to have an operation; but, to take every precaution to reduce the risk of such operation to a minimum, it would be advisable to enter a hospital for several days for blood tests and other laboratory tests, to determine the efficiency with which the kidneys were functioning. Here, then, was a trial for murder, with the intense atmosphere of all such trials, in order to determine whether, in fact, the charge was true. And, if true, a person was to be consigned to an untimely and ignominious death, and, yet, in the midst of it all—in the solemn course of justice—a free consultation from the Bench!

Such are the trials and tribulations of the medical expert witness!

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Harold R. Lawson, Second Vice-President of the Club.

“THE PROBLEM OF STUFFED SHIRTISM”

An Address by

SCOTT YOUNG,
Columnist, The Toronto Globe and Mail

Thursday, November 28th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: To-day’s guest speaker is Mr. Scott Young, well-known to us as a *Globe and Mail* columnist who is frequently seen on television.

It is usually interesting enough to meet and hear, in person, a writer whose columns are currently receiving favourable attention, but I am sure that to-day it will become doubly interesting after a brief review of Mr. Young’s colourful and varied background.

Born in Manitoba 39 years ago Mr. Young entered the fourth estate as an 18 year old copy boy with *The Winnipeg Free Press*, but in a matter of weeks was posted to the Sports Department as a reporter. After four years of sportswriting he became a Canadian Press Correspondent in London, England, during 1942. In 1943 he joined the Royal Canadian Navy as an ordinary seaman.

Full use of his talents as a writer was made by our Navy and, as a public relations officer, he served in the Channel, the Mediterranean, the Adriatic and the Aegean seas and in the invasion of the south of France.

Following World War II he joined the staff of *Maclean’s* magazine, in 1945, and shortly thereafter tried his hand at short story writing as a spare time activity. Three years later, having established that there was gold for him in the short story field, he decided to devote all his time to free-lance writing.

This resulted in his short stories appearing in virtually every major magazine in Canada and the United States and their reprinting, in some cases, in "Best Post Stories of 1949" and "A Treasure of Sport Stories". He received an honour roll mention in the "Martha Foley Best American Short Stories". His production exceeded 60 short stories and many of them were printed in the U.K., Italy, France, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia.

Mr. Scott Young is the author of three books—"Scrubs on Skates" and "Boy on Defense" in the juvenile field, and an adult novel based on the Winnipeg flood entitled "The Flood".

In early 1956, he tried his hand in industry as Assistant to the General Manager of Orenda Engines Ltd. His activities in that capacity were chiefly in the public relations and advertising field.

Since February, 1957, he has been a Columnist with *The Globe and Mail* and has appeared, with increasing frequency, on such television programmes as "Front Page Challenge" and special sports telecasts.

He has chosen as his subject for to-day—"The Problem of Stuffed Shirtism".

Gentlemen, I have the great pleasure of introducing Mr. Scott Young.

MR. YOUNG: Some of you must feel that you have been brought here under false pretence today, since the speaker was to have been Philip Deane—the *Globe and Mail*'s Washington correspondent. He was going to tell you all about satellites, and why the Russians have two and the Americans have none. However, when President Eisenhower became ill, Mr. Deane's work obliged him to remain in Washington—and here I am.

I must say that sometimes in the last day or two—while I was preparing to speak to you today—I thought that it would have been very sporting of Mr. Deane if he had sent me a copy of what he'd been going to say to you.

I then could have given you Mr. Deane's speech on satellites, so that you could have astounded your friends and confounded your enemies with your inside understanding of this matter.

Even in the absence of any word from Mr. Deane, I did consider briefly the possibility of bluffing it out—you know, go up to the CBC and study up on how to look important, then come back here and give you *my own* best speech on satellites. However, if you've read Pogo lately—he's the *Globe and Mail* correspondent from a little farther south than Washington—you know all that I know about satellites, anyway. So, instead, let us be the only people in the world to spend a whole lunchtime today, without even mentioning the words satellite, sputnik, or even Russia.

Of course, I'm sure you realize that underneath this kidding, I feel very honored to be speaking to the Empire club. I am particularly pleased, since what I have to say I would like influential people to hear.

I know that there is at least one good public relations man here—my friend Royd Beamish of Maclean-Hunter. What I am going to say about stuffed shirtism in high places, however, is not directed primarily at public relations men, because usually they are the instruments of public relations policy rather than the originators. They tidy up the techniques, and give advice, but generally speaking if a man has enough on the ball to become president of his company, he considers that his company's relations with the public are very much a part of his responsibility. He realizes—or he should—the reason why public relations departments have become such a vital part of large companies.

This reason is that every company which operates in this country, is dependent for its continued existence on public goodwill. That is, the laws of the land allow business to operate as it does, but the laws of the land can be changed by the public, the voter, if he ever decides that there have been too many abuses of his goodwill.

This isn't as remote a possibility as many people believe. We have had political parties which in their beginnings aimed openly at changing the system under which this nation lives; and still do, to a less outspoken extent. The Social Crediters of 1935 were one. Their stand is less clear, now. The CCF is another. Even the creation of such parties showed that in our population there are people who would like to make drastic changes, politically and economically.

Each time in the past that such changes have been put forth as a general political platform, however, the goodwill the majority of the voters felt toward the traditional economic system prevailed.

In essence, the major aim of industrial public relations in this country today is to preserve that goodwill. Of course, in the narrow sense, the good will is solicited for this industry or that, this company president or that one. But in the broad sense all are soliciting goodwill for the way we live, the system. And I don't think that the job is being done well enough to ensure that the system would stand solidly in really bad times.

It is obvious, I hope, that I didn't come to this opinion through the pure vacuum type of thinking—the ivory tower, or removed-from-life, school of reaching decisions.

As every suburban gardener among you knows, no grass roots grow in ivory towers.

In my job at the *Globe and Mail* I am fortunate enough to be treated by readers, and by people I meet, as a person without an axe to grind.

In one job I held for a year before coming to the *Globe and Mail*, I was, however, committed by my job to the management side of industry.

I was assistant to the general manager of Orenda Engines Limited, and among my responsibilities was the public relations department.

However, since I am by nature a person who likes who he likes, I had a number of good friends among hourly-paid workers and other unionists. So I was frequently in the position to hear honest men on both sides as they frankly discussed one another. And I believe—from this and from much other evidence, both earlier and later—that workers trust management generally much less than management really deserves.

This even in a company with relatively excellent labour-management relations.

In some companies, as you all know, there is very little trust at all on either side. The other day I heard of a wife of a worker for one of the large auto companies who wanted to buy something, but couldn't, her husband told her, because of the necessity of laying up something for the strike in the fall.

The person who told me this said, "How do they know they're going to have a strike in the fall? That's nearly a year away." I said, "That's when their contract runs out. I guess a unionist in that plant always has to be laying up money against the possibility that the next contract negotiations will end in a strike."

Now, I'm not going to discuss the right to strike. It is part of our industrial system. But when a worker, not long after one strike has ended, is saving up for another one, he isn't—as some people contend—just plain crazy. He is a man who simply doesn't trust his management. And if you get enough such people in the country, and economic disaster hits us sometime, the votes might very well pile up in favor of some party pledged to change this system that nurtures men whom the workers do not trust.

There are a lot of faults on the other side, too, of course. An industrial relations man told me one time that labour strife always is uneven, because the public always expects management to be responsible but does not require the same responsibility from a union. This double standard by which the public judges a strike is hard on management, and makes bitter men of some industrialists. But when they get bitter and strike out, the unions opposing them become even more bitter and intractable.

And bitterness certainly is not the road to trust between labour and management. And yet such trust is the only real guarantee of the continuity of our present economic system in any future time of stress.

Now, for what it is worth, and I think it is worth a good deal or I wouldn't be spending this time talking about it, I know one reason why workers do not even give the best managements the trust they deserve.

That reason is this: Our big men all too seldom are presented with real candour and honesty to the public view. I don't claim to know any great number of industrialists personally. But I do know enough of them—and have compared my private view with the watered-down version that usually is presented to the public—to be quite sure that often their public relations policy hurts the very cause that it functions to help.

I know men who speak with wit and charm in private, but who in their public appearances allow themselves to be cast as just one more stuffed shirt, speaking an industrial philosophy that is the triple-distilled essence of all the platitudes that other generations of seemingly stuffed shirts have said before them.

It is very strange indeed that so few will trust themselves to exhibit naturally in public the qualities that earned them their high positions in the first place.

For instance, if they have accepted a speaking engagement, usually they have a public relations man draft the speech. This immediately becomes a speech that is inferior to the man who is to deliver it. All that wit and anecdote and fun and adventure that the great men of business find in their jobs is lost. The result is laboured platitudes, not surprising, really, from a speech-writer who is trying to second-guess what the boss would like to say.

The speech-writer usually doesn't know a great deal in depth about the subject, anyway. If he did, he might be the boss.

Our big men of business do things this way either because they think it is the safe way, or because they don't want to spend the time creating friends in public that they would spend preparing for a tricky bit of persuasion in a director's meeting.

How many of you have sat through dull speeches by men who you just know aren't dull, or they never would have reached the positions they hold?

I know I have, many times.

Such audiences—as you—usually are polite. You will sit stolidly through the dullest speech, bored almost to insensibility, and at the end you will come up and shake hands with the speaker and tell him he has made a great speech. Then, going out of his hearing, your hand still warm from congratulating the speaker, you will be grousing to your companions—and hearing their grouses in return—about what a dull speech it was.

But the public, reading the speeches later, or hearing them on the radio, isn't polite. One thing the average man treasures, when judging another, is conviction that the other man means what he says—and not only that, is saying all that there is to be said. I've heard some very rude comments made, by workers, about speeches their company executives had made—and in all honesty, I often had to agree with the workers, even while sometimes knowing and liking greatly the man who had made the speech.

I had a great argument not long ago with a public relations man on this very point. It started when I heard that a certain industrialist was being considered by the editorial board of a large and influential magazine as being a possible profile subject for that magazine. The industrialist was going to New York to have lunch with the magazine's editors. Two public relations men were going along. Now, if there is one thing that maddens me more than another, it is hearing some public relations man tell modestly about how skilfully he guides some industrialist through the shoals and rapids of life, ever onward and upward. So when I heard this I said to the public relations man concerned that I supposed that when the magazine's editors asked this industrialist a question, and he answered (if, indeed, allowed to do so) the public relations man immediately would say, "What Mr. So and So means to say is this . . ." and then give the public relations or watered down, version; designed with eyes in all directions, all corners rubbed off, so that no one could possibly be hurt—or, although the P.R. man wouldn't realize this, interested.

This reminds me of a story. It is a little too salty to repeat here in full, but a little will do. It concerns a pilot who returned from Korea after many heroic exploits and was met on the west coast by a great throng of newspapermen, for a press conference.

He was flanked, of course, by public relations men for the air force.

One of the first questions was, "And what do you plan to do first, now that you are home, Major?"

The major, eyes lighting up, replied: "Do? I'm going to get me a case of whisky and I'm going to set out across the country and I'm going to chase every damn pretty girl I see until I catch her, and then I'll . . ."

At this point the public relations chief interrupted smoothly: "What the major means is that he can hardly wait to get back to his childhood sweetheart."

Well, you get the idea.

And in the case of the industrialist who was going to take PR men with him to speak to the editors of the large magazine, the core of my argument was that I knew the industrialist in question, and liked him, and was convinced that if he met this magazine's editors himself, they'd like him, admire him, and have a story done on him.

But I was much less sure of what they'd think of him when he appeared in the veritable cloud of public relations ideas, advice, coaching, and general fog of concealment of his real personality. Of course, I might as well have saved my breath.

I said I thought this was important. Not only I recognize the impression a big man usually makes when his own personality is allowed to be felt and seen. Unions traditionally need their strongest efforts for a company run by a strong and personable leader. The unions often call the policies of such a man paternalism. What they really don't like is when the personality of a company head is stronger than the collective union personality—where trust of a company president is as great among his workers as is their trust of the union.

It may take years to break down the legacy of stuffed shirtism of the past. And I am not naive enough to think that this one point is the only problem. But it is one of the major problems, because it seems obvious that if the gap between management on one side, and labour and the public on the other, is allowed to widen any further, it cannot mean anything but trouble for us in the future.

Also, I think that in any field, anything that can be done to substitute trust for strife is worth working for. Even if, as a start, every boss in the land has to take the pledge that never again will he allow himself to appear in public as a stuffed shirt.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Royd D. Beamish.

"AROUND THE WORLD IN 34 DAYS"

An Address by

WILLIAM E. WILLIAMS,
President and General Manager,
The Procter & Gamble Company of Canada Limited

Thursday, December 5th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: Mr. William E. Williams, President and General Manager of The Procter & Gamble Company of Canada Limited and a member of this Club, has recently encircled the globe.

It is our very good fortune that he has accepted our invitation to address us to-day and to share with us some of the impressions he gathered.

Mr. Williams was born in Memphis, Tennessee, early in the twentieth century. Educated at Memphis University School, Gulf Coast Academy and Virginia Polytechnic Institute—he graduated with degrees in Science and Business Administration before his 22nd birthday.

After two years with Ford Motor Company in Cincinnati, Ohio, he joined Procter & Gamble there in October, 1930 and twenty years later, in October, 1950 and at 44 years of age, he became President and General Manager of The Procter & Gamble Company of Canada Limited.

His earlier experience with Procter & Gamble included advertising work in the Brand Section in Cincinnati, experimental sales work and sales activities proper. He was District Manager at Milwaukee and then at Detroit.

Canada scored when Mr. Williams entered the Canadian scene. Toronto, in particular, has reason to be truly grateful for his years of tremendous and continuing activity on behalf of The United Appeal. He is presently a member of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees of The United Community Fund, Vice-President and Director of the Canadian Arthritis and Rheumatism Society, Director of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, member of the Board of Governors of the Toronto Western Hospital and a life member of the Royal Ontario Museum. He was formerly a Director of The Toronto Symphony Orchestra.

On the business side Mr. Williams is a Director of the Canadian Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, a member of the Council of the Toronto Board of Trade, a member of the Ontario Division of the Executive Committee of the Canadian Manufacturers Association, a Director of Victory Soya Mills Limited, a Director of the Imperial Bank of Canada, a member of the Presidents' Council of the American Institute of Management and a member of the National Industrial Conference Board.

Obviously, the calls on Mr. Williams' time and energy are many and varied and we consider ourselves privileged that he will address us to-day under the heading "Around the World in Thirty-Four Days".

Gentlemen, I present Mr. W. E. Williams, President and General Manager of The Procter & Gamble Company of Canada Limited.

MR. WILLIAMS: Mike Todd may have Elizabeth Taylor, but at least I can boast about getting around the globe in somewhat less than half the time that his hero, Phileas Fogg, made the trip.

You know, it's a wonderful thing to have a captive audience. Usually, to tell the story of your trip, your operation, or to show your movies you must lure your audience in small groups, using food and drink as a bait. Once hooked, you can then launch into it by saying, "You know, it just so happens that . . ." I am under no such compulsion and will accordingly get on with the story.

There are three basic points I would like to make at the beginning. *First,* I shan't attempt to give you facts readily available from the encyclopedia since this would be superfluous.

Second, in almost 37,000 miles of travel (you see I had just been to Mexico the week prior to this trip) did I see any of the "Ami, go home" anti-American type of attitude often reported. Actually, while I found some perplexity and a bit of pain over sputnik and Little Rock, I saw nothing but admiration, friendship and an attitude of hospitality toward the residents of North America.

These qualities varied in degree but were nevertheless present in a noticeable and vital form wherever I went. When you consider the age-old hatreds that exist between certain nations in the world, the minor resentment that comes about U.S. handling of their $60 billion give-away is amazing.

In Japan I saw some picketing in connection with the U.S., and upon inquiry it turned out that the socialists had urged that the U.S. Air Force move out of one particular base, which they had done. The picketing which I saw was for the purpose of getting the air force to come back since the local merchants had immediately and definitely felt the withdrawal of large amounts of spendable income.

The *third* point is that throughout the world there is a definite drive toward nationalism which expresses itself in almost all of the under-developed countries attempting to get on an industrial basis as rapidly as possible. This has meant that in many cases these countries have overspent themselves. Inflation is generally the rule and cutbacks are now coming into effect almost universally.

On that basis let us now proceed to the mysterious Orient, land of the geisha girls, chopsticks and sake with various bits of economic lore thrown in.

Arriving back from Mexico I packed a range of clothing designed for Bangkok at 100 degrees and Montreal at 34, and was off to Vancouver non-stop via TCA. A day of business, then CPA (Grant McConachie, please note the plug) for Tokyo. This involved some 20 hours across the Pacific on the great circle route with one refueling stop in the Aleutians, which was just what you would expect the Aleutians to be—cold, rainy and foggy.

With a day lost in my life thanks to the international dateline, we arrived on schedule at 6 a.m. in Tokyo to be greeted by a number of bowing Japanese businessmen. I was met by four which is slightly under par, this perhaps being due to the early morning hour.

I believe that the Japanese are the world's greatest plane meeters and seer-off-ers, this being part of the overwhelming hospitality and politeness to guests of their country.

So there I was in the land of Mount Fujiama. Incidentally, the Japanese say that the man who has never climbed Fuji is crazy and the man who has climbed it twice is twice as crazy.

Now, may I urge those of you who vizualize Japan and Tokyo as being a rather super-neat Oriental type Switzerland to forget it and start all over again.

Tokyo is a lusty, brawling, huge city—actually the largest in the world both in area and in population. Also, it has traffic that makes Rome, Paris or Caracas seem like downtown Toronto at 6 p.m. on a summer Sunday afternoon.

Tokyo has been rebuilt following the war and was rebuilt hurriedly. The broad vistas of properly restored Rotterdam are not to be found here.

Beauty spots there are, historical spots there are, but the overall impression is one of hard-working, hurrying, bustling people in a city mainly undistinguished and unbelievably dirty thanks at least in part to the current building of city's second subway.

You *can* find the Japan of popular concept. A train ride to the north coast, i.e., to the Sea of Japan ended up with a night spent in an inn at Iwamuro. This was the complete picture of Japan as you see it in the movies. Removal of shoes at the door, a steaming hot bath, communal if you so desire, a change to a kimono for dinner, and a full, all-out geisha party followed by sleeping on floor mats.

Having mentioned geishas let me clear up another possible misconception. Sex there is in Japan as it seems to be found elsewhere in the world, and indeed the Japanese are most matter of fact about it all, but the geisha party isn't sexy.

Actually, based upon my five experiences it is a rather dull ritual dinner where older businessmen relax and talk over their affairs while drinking sake and being entertained with traditional songs and dances by young geisha girls trained in the art. These young ladies, ranging from 15 upward, are so elaborately dressed and heavily made up that you feel as if you might be watching automated statues.

Later, as the party relaxed thanks to the sake and to santory, a quite good Japanese whiskey, you then play parlor games—games that would be quite entertaining to the 8 to 12-year old level here. I hate to be disappointing to you, but so help me, that was the way I saw it.

Now, in a more serious vein—it is my opinion and the opinion of far more experienced observers, that the free world today has two major assets, neither of which it can afford to lose. One of these is Japan and the other is the Middle East oil.

Now, Japan has gone democratic and gone with a bang. Certainly they still revere their Emperor, but the democratic ways are sold and sold solidly. There will be some changes in the rather too rapid governmental framework evolved in the post-war years, but these changes will be structural and mechanical rather than changes of the spirit.

The Japanese like what they have. They admire the North American way of doing things and they will cling to it and to us as long we will let them.

What do I mean, let them? I mean simply and literally that. Unless we people in North America let Japan sell enough merchandise of her manufacture to us, then that country cannot survive and certainly 93,000,000 people are not going to starve to death as a matter of principle. They only have one other place to which they can turn and that is back to Korea and to China where steel, coal, limestone and an unlimited consumer goods market await them.

Believe me, should this happen it would be a catastrophe by which the twelfth century invasion of Europe by Genghis Khan would be a Boston tea party.

To add Japan's manufacturing resources and equipment with their population to the population of Red China would make the combination, in my personal opinion, the most formidable force in the world.

I don't think this is going to happen if we show even the faintest vestige of intelligence, for example, I believe that we value the Middle East oil to a degree that we would willingly spend billions of dollars in defending it.

If this be so, then all we have to do to save the other valuable resource that we have in the free world is to simply allow the Japanese to sell—notice I say "sell" not give—sell enough goods of their manufacture to balance trade between Japan and Canada and Japan and the United States.

As far as Canada's part is concerned, I can do no better than to quote our new and extremely well qualified Canadian Ambassador, Fred Bull, with whom I had lunch and spent most of an entire afternoon. He points out that pre-war Canada bought about $4,500,000 worth of Japanese goods, but we sold Japan $21,000,000 worth of Canadian products.

By last year the percentage gap had closed. During 1939 we were selling the Japanese nearly $5.00 worth to every $1.00 worth that we bought. Now we are selling $2.00 worth for every $1.00 we buy—i.e. last year we bought $61,000,000 worth of Japanese goods and we sold them $128,000,000 worth of Canadian products such as lumber, wheat and manufactured goods.

This is fine progress, but it still means that Japan must go some place else in the world and sell enough merchandise to be able to pay Canada the $67,000,000 imbalance of last year, a balance which this year is anticipated to be still well above $55,000,000.

Actually, what has been happening in Japan is the same thing that has been happening in Canada. We too are buying more than we sell, but Canada has been fortunate that an influx of investment money keeps pouring in which keeps our economy solvent. Without that we would find ourselves in precisely the same shape that the Japanese are now in.

Therefore, we are brothers under the economic skin and we should be sympathetic with their position.

Now, it is true that these people have low wage rates, but interesting and perhaps humorous is that the Japanese are complaining bitterly about the low cost labour in Hong Kong. It is also true that they are going to offend some segments of the Canadian manufacturing economy by selling at prices lower than seem to be right, based on our standards and way of doing things.

Nevertheless, I think this must be taken as the rub-of-the-green. I think we will find in the main that we can compete in most areas with the Japanese thanks to our better technological background and better manufacturing equipment.

Actually, Japanese manufacturing methods and standards range all the way from simple one-family operations where every one in the family will work on an item, up to first-class manufactures like Masushita who sells primarily in Japan and Asia some $125,000,000 worth of light electrical appliances. This latter plant is completely automated, uses the most modern methods known, and with labour costs ranging from $25.00 to $50.00 per month (plus quite heavy fringe benefits) obviously could be a threat.

In Japan the past post-war years have been known as "Jimmu-kieki"—that is, the biggest boom since Jimmu, the Emperor who legendarily founded Japan 2600 years ago.

This expansion has been fast—so fast that the rest of the world could not or would not buy all of the output available. Now their bank rate has been increased to 8.4%, tighter central bank reserves plus increased deposits required on import licenses, imports have dropped by some $25,000,000, and this has actually managed to swing the Japanese economy into balance.

It should be understood that these intensely proud people look back upon their historical heritage and their ancient lineage with pride that even those of us of British ancestry find hard to match, and partly for this reason they are intensely sensitive to slights of any kind.

For example, the International Chamber of Commerce gave a small luncheon for me as a member of the Canadian Council. Present were such men as the President of the Japanese I.C.C., the President of the Bank of Tokyo, etc. Following luncheon the discussion became general. Why, despite their good faith which they have shown in such ways as voluntary limitation of exports of certain classes of goods, the policing of trademark rights on a much tighter basis than ever before, the upgrading of quality standards, etc. should Japan still be on the receiving end of discriminatory acts?

They quoted, for example, the action of two southern U.S.A. cotton growing states, which had passed laws saying that where Japanese made textiles were sold a large sign must be posted to this effect in the store.

Now, the Japanese complaint is not only about such signs but the signs in a cotton area when Japan buys five times as much cotton from the United States as the U.S. imports finished textile products.

Japan has a population of 93,000,000 which is increasing at the rate of 1,000,000 persons a year, this in a country smaller than California and only about 60% as large as the Province of Alberta. Only 17% of its land is arable, even though they have rice paddies half way up the side of every mountain.

I have the strong feeling that Japan is not asking for financial aid, dollar grants, Colombo Plans, sympathy or charity. Her position is simply that here is a teeming, growing population of frugal, industrious workers who must eat to live, who must import raw materials, fabricate and then export their production in order to earn money to buy such food.

Lacking this opportunity—God forbid—she has no other alternative than the one described of swinging to the Communist side. Therefore, may I urge you to view with tolerance the Japanese efforts to live through export.

Finally, having seen no sunshine thanks to a nearby typhoon, I took off for Hong Kong, some 2,000 miles away, to find absolutely perfect tropical weather.

The most obvious statement about Hong Kong is that the city is living on borrowed time. The lease which the United Kingdom has with China expires in some 40 years, but there is always a possibility that the landlord may foreclose on the lease at any moment that happens to suit him.

If anyone in Hong Kong, however, is particularly worried about this prospect they refuse to show it. The population is up from 500,000 pre-war to 2,500,000 now thanks to refugees, and the place is obviously bulging at the seams despite frenzied building efforts.

Massive buildings are going up on every side, typified by the new Chartered Bank's headquarters complete with steel, marble, air conditioning, running through from street to street. Others like this are the rule rather than the exception. It is clear that people in Hong Kong are building for permanency.

In Hong Kong there is a wonderful hotel, the food is spectacular. The girls are beautiful, and add to their charm by wearing a chong-sam, a sheath-like dress slit far above the knees. Then, prices are unbelievable because literally everything in the world is available here in this duty-free port at prices far below home country costs due not only to the lack of duty but to the shrewd Chinese merchants selling as hard as they know how.

Light industry is booming and exports are soaring. The rickshaw boys are still running, and thanks to British training and indoctrination, water, sanitation, traffic handling, etc. are all top-flight. When you travel, save your money for Hong Kong.

I went off to Bangkok in a new Bristol Britannia, a wonderful plane in the air but suffering some teething pains on the ground thanks to shortage of replacement parts and skilled technicians.

Thailand is usually wet, and having caught part of the typhoon I previously mentioned, it was really dripping and hot, but this seems good for the rice and Thailand is the granary of the east.

Being in the heart of the Far East I had thought that by now I would have escaped from the orbit of Elvis Presley, but this unfortunately was not true because he, rock'n roll, vista vision, etc. were all very much present just as they had been in every city that I had seen thus far.

Thailand is a rarity. It is an independent kingdom and it always has been. However, less than two weeks before my visit there had been a bloodless coup d'etat in which the prime ministers were changed. No one, however, would have ever known this without reading about it.

The day was spent here sightseeing in the rain and a most pleasant day it was because of the charm of the people and the unusual atmosphere. One sight never to be forgotten is a canal trip of some three hours in a power boat. This canal is actually a main street of the city just as it would be in Venice and was jammed with houses side by side and the houses were jammed with people.

The canal is used as a sole means of transportation in this area. It also serves as a bathtub, a laundry, a sewerage disposal, garbage can, and is used, of course, for drinking and cooking water. It must be seen to be believed, but apparently has no harmful effect on the population.

The following day I flew back east to Cambodia to see the famous ruins of Angkor Wat. Knowledge of Angkor Wat is scarce and its history vague, but presumably some thousand years ago there was a city of more than 1,000,000 population here and they raised some of the most enormous and fascinating temples in the world.

This is a most amazing spot, especially when it is considered that one temple alone is more than three miles in circumference.

The town of Viet Riem, the nearby village, boasts of a not so grand "Grand Hotel" and still lingers in my memory as the most expensive spot in the world. A bottle of water costs $2.00, an inedible lunch was $4.50 and a Scotch and soda, not too large, $4.00.

All of this coupled with a 100-degree humidity and a drizzling rain and 100-degree heat, plus a converted C-47 that literally showered us all the way back to Bangkok, completed a memorable day, unpleasant in some respects but one that I will never forget.

Delhi was next with a brief stop in Calcutta. I trust it will not be too offensive to say that India is one of the most unfortunate countries in the world—too many people, too few worldly assets and all of it hobbled by a socialistic government of fumbling ineptitude.

It is a country of contrasts. First, the overwhelming masses of people, mainly underfed and frequently living in filth and ignorance, and second, the most exquisitely beautiful single thing I have ever seen in my life, namely, the Taj Mahal, the tomb at Agra built by the then Shah of India in 1632 for his Wife, Mumta Mahal.

This building of pure white marble inset with colored semi-precious stones is the most perfect example of Mogul architecture in the world and is virtually indescribable with the words at my command.

One brief comment—among the insets mentioned are literally thousands of roses, pale at the outside edge, darker in the centre. Each is made by hand cutting some 64 pieces of colored stone and placing them to get the color gradations. The eye can see no seam, and running a fingernail over the rose reveals no cracks. Actually, each is so perfect that a magnifying glass is required to see the seams. Such workmanship seemingly has vanished in the three centuries that have passed.

This building appears delicate, almost dainty thanks to its design, but actually it is huge—186 feet square and 210 feet high.

One pathetic note—on the day of his death the king was placed on a verandah of the castle a mile away so that with his last glimpse of earthly things he could see the tomb of his beloved queen. He, too, is now buried there by her side.

From Delhi to Karachi after fighting through a maze of Indian paper work and petty restrictions due to the fact that the Hindus are now governing themselves for the first time in centuries, they have really gone overboard on currency controls which are probably necessary, but to this day I can't quite understand what the Indian government will do with that precious piece of information which they required me to furnish, namely, the birthplace of Mrs. Williams' mother.

My stay in Karachi was as short as possible. I arrived and took one quick look and got out on the first available plane, luckily only some ten hours later. During this period I learned, among other things, that Moslem weddings are as noisy as our own even though they have no greater stimulant than the ubiquitous Coca-Cola. Personally, I can guarantee to you that Dutch beer is an excellent antidote for the Karachi weather.

One point is that Pakistan illustrates to the Nth degree the results of a pathological sense of nationalism, an overweening religious drive and a violent case of emotionalism. Here are two bits of country, desert and the Capitol to the west, with the food supply and the majority of the population to the east, the two halves being separated by about 1,000 miles of hostile Indians.

Then, off to Istanbul in Turkey, the land of the mosque and minarets and the staunchest ally of the West in the Middle East. Turkey also has followed the inflationary course of the rest of the world which I mentioned earlier and has tried to industrialize far too rapidly and at the same time support a crack army of 500,000 men.

The net result is that this primarily agricultural economy is in trouble since all manufactured goods and equipment plus all military hardware must be imported. For example, the beautiful new Istanbul Hilton Hotel is as good as any in the world and its site overlooking the Bosphorus is superb but you can't buy a cup of coffee either here or elsewhere in Turkey, and syrupy Turkish coffee was almost their national drink.

Magnificent new vistas are being opened in the old city of Istanbul by driving a four-lane highway right through the crowded area with bulldozers huffing and puffing as they tear down century-old dwellings, but such normal things as photographic film are unavailable.

Nevertheless, there is no panic and almost no criticism from the populace even about the lack of their well beloved coffee.

The main subject of conversation, aside from Russia, is, of course, Cyprus just as in Athens.

A short hop to Athens for beautiful, sunny weather reminiscent of Capetown, South Africa. The drive in from the airport is one of the most impressive I have seen, four Lanes wide, running along the sea and lined with magnificent homes, all seemingly painted and repaired just yesterday. In Greece the shortages I have mentioned previously are non-existent. You can buy anything since there are virtually no import restrictions of any kind.

As one whose chief contact with the Greek people was the restaurant owners in North America, I was delighted to find as many keenly intelligent, cultivated, hard working peoples per block as you will find anywhere in the world. The Greeks feel good about the future and they act the part with real enthusiasm.

Then, off to Rome, the city of gastronomic pleasure—a city which all of you know or plan to know.

It is no secret that the Italians love life and in so doing their pleasure rubs off on the visitor so that he too gets in the swing of their enjoyment.

From Rome to Lisbon via Nice and Barcelona takes about as long as it does to get comfortably settled and have a leisurely dinner.

Portugal has been ruled for more than two decades by Salazar, the so-called "benevolent" dictator. This was my first visit here and I found the country fascinating—good hotels by any standards, more scenery per square mile than any place I have yet seen.

A final note—we taxied out to the end of the runway at 6 p.m. to take off, but the #3 engine was acting up so back we went for 14 hours, to leave the next morning and fly non-stop to Montreal. A quick change of planes and soon to Toronto and never did Toronto and home look so good, following some 37,000 miles of travel in 41 days.

A concluding soliloquy—I came back just following the stock market decline and here were people living better than kings of a couple of generations ago crying and wringing their hands over the loss of what were in the main paper profits. To these and to all others may I suggest that they too go around the world and return and then count the many blessings available to them as a result of living in this great country, Canada.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Sydney Hermant.

"CANADIAN WOMEN AS CITIZENS"

An Address by

THE HONOURABLE ELLEN L. FAIRCLOUGH, P.C., M.P., C.P.A., C.G.A., U.E.
Secretary of State for Canada

Thursday, December 12th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: We are proud and delighted to welcome as our guest speaker to-day, The Honourable Ellen Louks Fairclough, Privy Councillor, Member of Parliament for Hamilton-West, Certified Public Accountant, Certified General Accountant, United Empire Loyalist and, since 21st June, 1957, Secretary of State of Canada.

Mrs. Fairclough is Canada's first woman cabinet minister; she is our first guest speaker from the Federal Cabinet in this club year, and to-day is our first Ladies Day for 1957-58—all of which makes this a most happy occasion.

To complete the circle—her good husband and worthy son are here as our guests.

The Honourable Mrs. Fairclough is a fifth generation Canadian. Currently, she is Hamilton's best known and most respected political figure—having earned her spurs there in the City Council, of which she was an Alderman for four years and a Controller for one, before being elected to the House of Commons in May, 1950. She was re-elected in 1953 and 1957.

She enjoys an impressive business reputation too because, after earning the necessary qualifications while employed as a stenographer and practical accountant, she opened a successful public accounting practice in 1935 as "E. L. Fairclough, Certified Public Accountant".

Nothwithstanding her concentration on the business side, she found time and energy to serve as President of the Zonta Club of Hamilton, as District Governor of Zonta International, as Dominion Secretary of the United Empire Loyalists Association, and as an executive officer in several capacities in both the Provincial and National Chapters of the I.O.D.E.

During her service in the Commons as a member of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, she was Chairman of the Labour Committee of the official opposition caucus, and was the official voice for the opposition on all labour matters.

She is an Executive Officer of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (Canadian Branch) and of the Canadian NATO Association.

In October, 1950, she served as a member of the Canadian delegation to the United Nations as an Adviser, and in July, 1955, she was a delegate to the Conference of Parliamentarians from NATO countries which was held in Paris.

She will address us now on the subject, "Canadian Women as Citizens".

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am honoured to present The Honourable Mrs. Fairclough, Secretary of State of Canada.

MRS. FAIRCLOUGH: When, last July, your President invited me to address this club, he suggested that I might speak to you on a subject descriptive of my own personal place in the Government of this country and my reactions thereto. One of the subjects which he suggested had something to do with a woman's approach to problems of government. In my reply I told him, as I shall now tell you, that I have long held the view that there is no difference in one's approach to the problems of business or state because of one's sex. It is true that the catch phrase 'battle of the sexes' has been much quoted for many years. So it is probably appropriate that I should quote an unknown source which said:

> "The battle of the sexes will never be won by either side.
> There is too much fraternizing with the enemy."

However, battle or no battle, there is no doubt that a woman's role in society today is vastly different from what it was at the beginning of this century. Accordingly, it seemed to me that it might be a good opportunity to speak to you on the subject of 'Canadian Women as Citizens', and if you take issue with any of the things which I shall say to you today, I hope you will bear in mind that I do this at the invitation of your President. Since he also comes from Hamilton, where we have a reputation for winning tough battles, I am sure he will emerge victorious from any barrage to which he may be subjected.

From time immemorial women have played a part in public affairs, sometimes greater, sometimes lesser, sometimes for good and sometimes for evil. Names which come down to us through history have been immortalized in song and story, in poetry and in drama. But in order to paint a picture to serve as background for the events of the last half-century and the situation in which we find ourselves today, I must go back for a moment to three hundred years and more ago, to the days of the early settlers when white women first came to this continent. To the courage of those women we must all pay tribute. They came in many capacities. Some to join husbands who were already here; some came as domestics; some came as poor relations to act as unpaid domestics; and some came to be the wives of men they had never seen.

These early women worked side by side with their men, clearing the land, planting the crops and even, on occasion, shouldering the musket to defend their families and their very lives against hostile forces.

In addition they fed their families; they doctored and nursed the sick and the aged; they spun and wove and clothed their families; and they were forced to make with their own hands and by means of their own ingenuity whatever articles they needed for their households—candles and soap, garments and furs, and the medicines with which to treat the various diseases and ailments which assailed them. The pioneer woman was the original welfare worker on a voluntary basis. Versatile she was in the extreme and if her daughters have imparted to their daughters, in turn, the gift of adaptability, they should be proud to accept a prize so richly won and so much a part of their heritage.

Things were not too easy for women in the new world, but then, of course, they were not very easy for men either. This situation existed for a long, long time. As a matter of fact, if we take a look at the beginning of this century, we can see some very interesting things. A mere handful of women were in business and those who were, were usually in family businesses which they had built up themselves or which they had inherited. The main means of earning a livelihood which was open to women was domestic work. There were a few clerks in stores and there were openings for women in the needle trades. Unless a woman engaged in one of these activities, she either married or became an unpaid domestic or social secretary in the home of one or other of her relatives.

It had only been a short time before the turn of the century that universities in Canada had opened their doors to women. The first one to do so was the University of Mount Allison College at Sackville, New Brunswick, which signified its willingness to accept women in 1873. The first woman in Canada to be given a university degree was a graduate of this university in 1882. Dalhousie University at Halifax admitted women in 1881 and the University of Toronto in 1883. The following year the Arts course at McGill University was opened to women.

A short time ago, a friend sent me a clipping from the *Hamilton Spectator* of March 16th, 1900, in which is described a sermon delivered by a Doctor Talmadge in Washington, D.C., in which that reverend gentleman drew to the attention of his hearers the terrible conditions under which women were seeking to support themselves. He painted a pitiful picture of work in the needle trades which I shall not attempt to recount for you here today, but I think that it is worthy of note that a common wage was $2 or $3 a week and many were trying to exist on a piecework basis at rates which brought them only about 25 cents a day. Incidentally, on the other side of this clipping, I found advertisements for three Hamilton department stores of the time and some of the prices quoted are extremely interesting. I see that a well-known drygoods store of that time was advertising a full range of spring coats for $4, and in order to entice trade into their establishment, they were advertising five shows on Saturday: 10:30, 2:00, 3:15, 4:30 and 7:15. The advertisement goes on to say that "a purchase of 15 cents worth of goods admits you to an entertainment a good deal better than you expect." Other things I notice in this advertisement are ladies' Irish linen handkerchiefs for 7 cents, men's fleeced and all wool shirts at 35 cents, infants' vests at 5 cents, men's hose at 27 cents and a great many other intriguing items.

There were several events which brought women to a realization of their responsibilities as citizens during this half-century. The First World War brought women out of their homes to work in industry and commerce, taking the places of the men who had joined the armed forces. The Second World War brought them out in still greater numbers and this second time, there was evident reluctance to return to domestic duties. By the end of World War II, of course, living conditions had changed. Our grandmothers in the early years of the century did not enjoy the vacuum cleaners and automatic washers and the refrigerators which lighten home tasks today. Instead, as many as two or three women may have had to spend time keeping one home functioning, whether as mother, maid or unmarried relative helping with daily chores. Now, all of these women are to some degree released by mechanical advances and by an improved living standard for work outside the home. Women now have time to work full-time or part-time in the world of business, politics or community affairs.

It is hard to say which came first, the chicken or the egg. Did these appliances come into being because of the demand of women who were doing two jobs during the First World War, and did their acceptance steadily increase in the intervening years; or did women, because of these appliances, find that it was possible for them to spend more and more time away from their domestic chores? Whatever the reason, the acceptance of women as workers has altered our whole scheme of living—to the extent that now, in place of the large family home served by several women, we have the comparatively small functional establishment which is quite easily handled by one woman, even on a part-time basis.

We can see the extent to which women have become free for new responsibilities by the fact that the number of women in gainful occupations in Canada multiplied almost five times in the half-century from 1901 to 1951. The number of working women increased from 238,000 to 1,147,000, and the proportion to every 1000 males gainfully employed rose from 154 to 282. Women in clerical occupations increased about 25 times from 12,600 to 314,600.

A recent Dominion Bureau of Statistics report points out that altogether 22.4 per cent of employees in Canadian industries are women (Latest Labour Digest 24.6%). In some industries, there are nearly as many women as men. In the service industries—mainly hotels, restaurants, laundries and recreational facilities—women constitute 46.8 per cent of the employees. In finance, insurance and real estate, 51.3 per cent of all employees are women. The proportion of women in industry is highest in Prince Edward Island (24.8 per cent), followed closely by Ontario (24.1 per cent). Of all major Canadian cities, Kitchener, Ontario, has the highest percentage of women employees (31.5 per cent).

Women are prominent in many professions which were once a masculine preserve. In science and engineering, women biologists and chemists are particularly numerous, but there are geologists, physicists, electrical engineers and aeronautical engineers as well.

In seeking employment, women encounter some of the same problems as men. Women are living longer, and increasing numbers of mature women want or need gainful work. Actually, 19.4 per cent of all women in Canada who are from 45 to 64 years of age are working for pay and 4.1 per cent of those who are 65 and over. Older women in many instances face the same problem as older men in obtaining new jobs. A man who is 45 years old may find potential employers prejudiced against him on account of his age. The older woman encounters the same difficulty. But for women the point of prejudice more often begins at the age of 35.

As women accepted more responsibility in industry and commerce, they naturally sought a voice in government. It was not until 1921 that the franchise was extended to women in Canada on a full basis. It has always been amusing to me that the type of thinking which could condone the Boston Tea Party and the War for Independence could refuse to extend the right of the franchise to taxpayers, simply because they were women. Taxation without representation is equally frustrating for both sexes. But the franchise itself was not the only hurdle which had to be overcome and it took the remarkable ability and perseverance of Judge Emily Murphy and her four colleagues to establish once and for all that women were persons. In the intervening time they have entered into the political life of this country at various levels and in various capacities. While it must be admitted that at certain levels of government they have not made as great a contribution as they might have done, I believe that there are very definite reasons for that lack of response. I might mention here that the relatively few women who have succeeded at the elective level in the political life of the country find that the same situation exists in other phases of the economy. For instance, despite the large numbers of women employed in industry today, I am told by the Canadian Labour Congress that only two women in Canada are executives of unions at the top level. The one is Elma Hannah, who is the special representative for Canada in Communications Workers of America, and the other is Huguette Plamondon, President of the Montreal Labour Council.

The same situation occurs in business and finance, where despite the large numbers of women shareholders, the names of relatively few women appear in the lists of directors of Canadian companies. It is my conviction that this situation will change in the next ten years, but I think that I would be dodging facts, if I did not admit that, although legislation has been adopted in most of Canada today which gives equal pay for equal work to men and women, there has as yet not been general acceptance of the principle of equal opportunity. It is my opinion that women themselves must show their willingness to accept responsibility to a greater degree than they have done heretofore. But that is not the whole answer.

I am sometimes amused by the reasons which are given for the non-admittance of women into certain groups, and one of the most common is that men like to talk among themselves and, on occasion, in rather rich language. I can only speak from personal experience. I have been in elective posts of one kind or another for some twelve years now, and before that I worked for many years in organizations where I was frequently the only woman. In that time I do not think my colleagues pulled their punches at all in the matter of language and I solemnly assure you that in that whole period I never learned one word. I am certain that would be the case with any woman who has attended co-educational institutions from kindergarten grade.

Of course, one of the allegations against women which is most frequently heard is that they tend to monopolize the conversation.

No comment!

Despite the work of Emily Murphy and her confreres, there have only been six women appointed to the Senate of Canada, and now there are five sitting in the chamber.

Since 1921 when they were first eligible for election to the House of Commons, there have just been nine women elected, and in this present Parliament there are only two. We do not show up very well in this regard in relation to European countries, but it is my opinion that one of the difficulties is in the size of the territory which is represented. No doubt some of the hesitation on the part of women to offer themselves for election to legislatures and to the House of Commons is the distance which they must necessarily travel in many cases to discharge their duties.

There have never been any women in any of the legislatures east of the Province of Ontario and there has only been one in Ontario. But when we look at the municipal level of government, we find a different picture and I think that this bears out my contention that distance presents one of the main difficulties. It is very hard to arrive at the exact number of women who are serving on municipal councils and school boards, because the information is not available for some of the rural areas, but judging from the number who are recorded, I believe that a reasonable estimate is that there are approximately 1200 women at the present time serving in elective posts at the municipal level across Canada. When you consider in addition to that the number who serve at the non-elective level on hospital boards and local boards of one kind or another, the number must indeed be impressive.

Quite apart from what might be termed political activity, women make a tremendous contribution to Canadian life by their participation in various organizations at the local, national and even the international level. There are the patriotic organizations, the service clubs, the church associations, the Business and Professional Women's Institutes, the Council of Women and countless others. In all of these women give freely of their time and effort and who can evaluate their contribution to society or their influence?

Without their voluntary efforts, much social welfare work would have to be undertaken by professional workers and paid for by the various levels of government. This, in turn, would impose an additional load on every taxpayer. It is quite possible that this contribution is more apparent to the municipal councillor than it is to those who are members of provincial or the federal government, but certainly there is no municipal councillor who does not realize the great debt which the municipality owes to the citizens, both men and women, who throw themselves wholeheartedly into community activities of all kinds.

Another field which has opened up in the last few years to women is that of jury service. This is one field of responsibility which women have approached with varying feelings of reluctance, but generally speaking with a real desire to accept their responsibilities.

I mentioned a few moments ago that it was my opinion that the next ten years would see great changes in the acceptance of women in responsible posts. By that time I think that half of all women past school age will be working outside their homes, either part-time of full-time.

A United Nations report on 'Part-Time Work for Women' discusses the benefits which married and other women gain from part-time work and some of the difficulties they encounter. The report concluded that a part-time job may do a lot to raise morale of women with home responsibilities. Mixing with people and hearing and expressing ideas gives a woman confidence in herself. She may be more conscious of her appearance, manner and speech through her association with the business world. And a part-time job may well give her new perspective.

Part-time work is not necessarily an unmixed blessing, however, as a woman may have to face increased housekeeping costs, and may feel at times that she is neglecting responsibilities in the home. Then she may be faced with some of the difficulties which affect part-time workers of both sexes: she may be hired for a peak period and be required to work disproportionately harder than regular employees; she may be given routine tasks not employing her full capabilities; and she may be among the first dismissed if business conditions become adverse.

There is a trend apparent even now toward the acceptance of the mature women who has shown herself to be the steadiest worker. There will be more programs for the re-training of women in partly forgotten skills, and refresher courses available to those who are engaged in professional pursuits.

Experience has shown that these women can learn new skills, and that they can perform excellent service as stenographers, business machine operators, or in positions of greater responsibility. On this continent there have emerged two significant trends over recent decades: a growing proportion of married women in the labour force, and an increase in the employment of older women.

Once a novelty, women are now a permanent part of the labour force and I quote from the monthly letter of a Canadian bank, released this October:

> "The last 50 or 60 years have been years of almost revolutionary change in the status of women, especially in the part they play in the labour force. From representing an insignificant section of the country's workers, their share in economic life has risen to the point where serious dislocation of the entire pattern of industry, income and production could occur if the direction of change should be reversed. Women in the labour force today are making a vital contribution to Canadian economic development".

Today, there is one woman for every three men in our labour force, and of these 63 per cent are 25 years of age or over. 23 per cent are 45 years of age or over. Almost 40 per cent of our women workers are married, whereas 25 years ago only 10 per cent were.

All in all, women are contributing their share of the nation's economy. Women bear a fair share of the country's tax load. In the latest year for which figures are published by sex (1953), women paid over $147,476,000 in federal income taxes. The class of women who earned the highest incomes per capita and who paid the highest average tax—$207 for the group—was married women with one or two dependents. Single women paid an average income tax of $188, and married women with no dependents $169.

Since the taxation year of 1953 these statistics have not been available, but I notice that the 1956 census shows a total of 464,272 women as heads of families, and the average number of persons per household was 2.6 which means that we had almost one and one-quarter million persons for whose maintenance female workers were responsible. This is 7½ per cent of our population.

In addition to the prophecies I have already made, I believe we may expect that the woman's work load in the home will continue to be reduced, and that women will go out into the world of business in increasing numbers to help their menfolk buy the new and improved washing machines, garbage disposal units and pre-digested dinners. Women may continue to live longer. They may enter more and more into occupations of a technical nature on which increased emphasis is likely to be placed in the age of Sputniks. Incidentally, I notice that the famous rocket expert, Dr. Willy Ley, speaking in Chicago two months ago, said that women probably will pilot the first space ships because they are more adaptable than men to withstand monotonous work under difficult conditions.

Women probably cannot expect an easier life, but they can rather be expected to shoulder a larger share of responsibility as citizens in an increasingly complex world.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. James H. Joyce, a Past President of the Club.

Christmas Meeting

With

THE LESLIE BELL CHORALE
Under the direction of
DR. LESLIE BELL

Thursday, December 19th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: In these days of television, radio, high fidelity sets and juke boxes, it is not unreasonable to sometimes think that we have too much music—of a sort—around us. We hear it at home, in cars, stores, subways, plants, restaurants, indoors and out of doors, and we certainly have our moments when we decide that there should be a law against it.

Come Christmastime, however, and the entire scene changes—and so do the tunes! Nothing seems to express the spirit of Christmas as suitably as "music for Christmas". In fact, this essential ingredient of the Christmas season restores our faith that music is a divine gift to humanity; that it can be festive or religious; that it can arouse warlike feelings or put children to sleep and that it speaks a universal language of sorrow or joy, reverence or revelry.

Each year our Executive Committee strives for something new to entertain us at our Christmas Party, but each year it seems that someone always says "but it is Christmas and nothing will do except Christmas music".

So once again it is just that, but this time we are particularly fortunate that it will be presented in the inimitable manner of our own Dr. Leslie Bell, who will now take over.

THE LESLIE BELL CHORALE PRESENTED
A PROGRAMME OF CHRISTMAS MUSIC.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Bruce J. Legge, First Vice-President of the Club.

"SOME THOUGHTS ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE NEW YEAR"

An Address by

GEORGE ARNOLD REEVE HART, M.B.E.,
General Manager, Bank of Montreal

Thursday, January 16th, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: We are proud and delighted to welcome from Montreal a native Torontonian who, in the remarkably short time of 26 years, progressed from bank clerk to general manager of Canada's oldest bank. Five years of this period were spent in distinguished wartime service, here and abroad, with the Canadian Army, during which time he advanced from second lieutenant to major and was appointed by his Sovereign to membership in the military division of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire.

I refer to Mr. George Arnold Reeve Hart, M.B.E., General Manager of the Bank of Montreal.

Arnold Hart entered the service of the Bank of Montreal in 1931 in Toronto. He gained valuable experience in several Toronto branches and at Montreal in the Head Office and the West End Branch before he joined the active army.

On resuming his banking career in 1946 he was appointed Secretary to the President—the late Mr. George Spinney, who had also been one of the Bank of Montreal's youngest General Managers. In 1948 Mr. Hart became Assistant Superintendent of Alberta branches and moved to Calgary. In 1949 he was advanced to Manager of the Main Branch in Edmonton.

Two years later, 1951, found him Third Agent at the New York office and by 1953 he was back at Head Office, Montreal, as a Superintendent. The following year, 1954, saw him promoted to Assistant General Manager and, after two years in that post, he was advanced to Deputy General Manager in 1956.

Just one year ago now, early in 1957, Mr. Hart was appointed General Manager of Canada's senior financial institution—at 44, one of the youngest general managers in the then 140-year history of the Bank of Montreal.

When he was a Superintendent at Head Office, Mr. Hart made an extensive tour of the Far East. He travelled 35,000 miles by air which, at that time, established something of a record in banking circles.

Despite the fact that he has experienced three promotions since his return to Montreal in 1953, Mr. Hart has displayed keen interest in community affairs and has assumed responsibilities as Associate Honorary Treasurer and Member of the Executive Council of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, as a Member of the Metropolitan Board of Directors of the Y.M.C.A. (Montreal) and as a Director of the Montreal Boys' Association.

We consider ourselves fortunate that he has selected as his topic for to-day "Some Thoughts on the Threshold of the New Year".

Gentlemen—Mr. G. Arnold Hart, M.B.E., General Manager of the Bank of Montreal.

MR. HART: It is an honour for anyone to be invited to address this Club and to join the distinguished company of those who have done so in the fifty-five years of its history. For me it is a special honour to be here today and always a pleasure to visit the city of my birth, school days and early years in the bank.

You who live here are, I know, very conscious of the remarkable extent to which Toronto has grown in recent years. But I sometimes think that those who dwell in the midst of gradual but unceasing evolutionary growth are less fully aware of the dramatic changes that are wrought about them than are those who see it only from time to time. To me, not only since my younger days, but even between the not-infrequent trips I make here, this city seems to alter and expand in ways that are better described as revolutionary than evolutionary. Change is the order of this city.

And change is the order of our day. When your President asked me, last June, to suggest a title for my remarks I was hard put to imagine what questions and issues would be uppermost in the minds of us all and deserving of consideration and comment now—seven months later. I therefore suggested a non-committal title that would cover whatever might become appropriate. As the months have gone by and I have endeavoured to shape the thoughts that have occurred to me, I have been very forcibly struck by the sharp changes that have occurred in what seemed to be the accepted order of things so short a time ago.

To mention only three, there was a change on the political front in Canada; a new dimension was added to international relations as the western countries saw two man-made moons thrust into the skies from beyond the horizon; and on the economic scene within North America the subject of predominant concern has shifted quite suddenly from inflation to contraction.

I find difficulty, and I imagine I am not alone, in trying to discern the implications of these and other developments for the year on which we have embarked. Because I work in a bank and have an opportunity to observe influences affecting all kinds of business in all parts of Canada, it is the business scene that chiefly interests me and it is about it that I propose mainly to speak.

I do not, however, intend to review in detail the changes that have occurred in Canadian business conditions in the recent past. Were I to do so, I might have tried to outdo the headline style of a prominent financial weekly of this city by entitling my address, "Here's Low-down on Slow-down". The business record has been sufficiently analysed and diagnosed to need no elaboration. Suffice it to say that we are clearly in the midst of a period of somewhat less active business—be it labelled a levelling-off, down-tilt, let-up, readjustment or whatever—which most business enterprises and most areas of Canada have felt in some degree.

Nor do I intend to add to the many specific forecasts that are always made at the time calendars are changed. The majority of these seem to prescribe "more of the same", at least through the winter months.

What I propose to do is to share with you, in the hope that they will be worth while, some of the thoughts that, for me, serve to put current conditions into perspective; that help me to keep my bearings, as it were, in the changing pattern of events.

To begin with, it is a demonstrable fact that the Canadian people have achieved, and are enjoying, a measure of material well-being that is second only to that of the United States. How did we achieve it? I think you will agree that the principal ingredients have been the fortunate possession of a very wide range of natural resources in great abundance; the diligence and skill to develop them wisely, either for our own purposes, or with outside assistance in response to external needs; and the willingness to trade our abundance in return for the even wider variety of things that contribute to our standard of living. These, it seems to me, are the eternal verities of Canada's economic growth that are so obvious as often to be lost sight of, or so frequently aired as to be in danger of becoming platitudes.

But in them are to be seen, also, the reason why Canada's growth has not proceeded steadily. At times our expansion has been accelerated by sharply enlarged world demand for our resources, as during wars, or by mounting external needs for basic materials that other countries were beginning to run short of, such as forestry products in the 1920's and minerals in the 1950's. At other times discovery and development have had to await some mechanical or technical break-through, in the way the railways opened up the west in the early years of the century and more recently the way the aeroplane and the geodetic survey have opened up the north. Yet at other times our expansion and our whole pace of business activity have been retarded by an abatement of demand in the United States or in our export markets generally.

What is more, phases of rapid resource development have always brought in their train an accentuated need for other capital outlays to broaden the base of the economy by the provision of more housing, and more manufacturing, distributive and service facilities, required by a population that tends to be enlarged rapidly by a rise in immigration and often by a rise in the birth rate.

The point that seems to me important to bear in mind in considering this historical pattern is that our treasure chests cannot be found, and opened, quickly or easily as the need arises, and our broader development cannot keep exactly abreast of requirements. Such capital expenditures which, with exports, are the prime movers in our prosperity, are immense and often relatively long-term in nature and are bound to get out of step at times with the demands that give rise to them.

If we could, as it were, turn a tap to attract or create all the working people and to produce all the materials, pipelines, seaways, factories, houses, roads and so on that were needed, precisely when they were needed, and no more than were needed, we would avoid periods of overcapacity such as we are now in. But obviously we cannot expect to match capacity to demand, and phases of temporary surplus are bound to recur.

If I felt that this present phase would be other than a passing one, I would be worried. But I believe it will be of a temporary nature. Let me trace my reasons for this conviction.

The Second World War and the years since have been an unusually long period of unusually strong demands on the Canadian economy. The emphasis of expansion shifted, of course, as the demands changed from military to civilian, then subsequently, after Korea, back towards rearmament and again, later, to catching up with the formation of other capital facilities. In the decades to 1955 as a whole the over-all result of these shifts in emphasis was a well rounded and well balanced growth. But the spurt in 1955 and 1956 was in the direction of expansion of basic industries, mainly to serve export markets. That expansion approached completion in 1957 just when exports happened to level off or decline. What we are witnessing, therefore, is a change in the mixture of the traditional pushes and pulls on our economy that I have described—an abatement of export demand, the subsiding of capital expansion in a certain direction and possibly a respite from the long period during which the economy operated under forced draught.

These conditions have created difficulties in the past year—difficulties which are still with us and to which are being added the seasonal slackness that is characteristic of some sectors of the Canadian economy at this time of year.

We may therefore expect to see in the next few months reports of rather more unemployment, both absolutely and relatively, than we have known for some years. It should not rise to a percentage of the labour force that would be regarded as serious by historical standards but it will be serious for those affected. For the person who has no job and cannot find one, unemployment is 100% of the labour force. But the extent of unemployment should be mitigated by the concerted efforts being made to provide more winter jobs, while government payments have been extended to a larger number of the unemployed, and more job opportunities will open up, as always, with the coming of spring.

Some industries will continue to be conscious in the months ahead of the problems of operating at a lower level in relation to capacity than they have been accustomed to in years past. Again, without minimizing the difficulties, it is being found that efficiency is often increased at something less than full-scale output and that some excess capacity is desirable to meet peak demands that do not hit all industries at the same time. Moreover, in the case of some materials, particularly certain metals that have been scarce for some years, more adequate supplies are being welcomed as opening, or re-opening, the prospects of wider long-term markets. In the case of other materials, however, notably some other metals and petroleum, the problems of Canada's position as a marginal supplier to the United States have reared their heads and we have not seen the last of them.

There are other difficulties that I could describe and that have no doubt occurred to you. But, like those I have mentioned, they are largely manifestations of the set of circumstances that surround us. If we allow ourselves to become preoccupied with the problems we can easily become discouraged. If, however, we keep them in the perspective of the conditions that caused them, and focus our sights on the forces that seem likely to alter those conditions—and alter them for the better—I believe we have good grounds for confidence that the problems can be resolved.

One of the forces already at work is the resilience of the Canadian economy. This country, with its free institutions and people, has shown many times in the past that it has a remarkable ability to adjust to changing circumstances and the advantages of that flexibility are again apparent. An example of this is to be seen in the role played by our free exchange rate. In 1956 and well into last year, when resource development was at its height, the flow of foreign capital, which financed much of it, put our currency at a premium. At the same time, the premium, in reducing the domestic price of imports, served to alleviate some of the inflationary pressure that would otherwise have been felt. The premium also, of course, operated to the disadvantage of our exports. But now, with resource development diminishing and inflationary forces subsiding, the exchange value of our currency has fallen nearly to parity with the U.S. dollar, thus providing positive encouragement to our export industries.

In addition to its resilience, there are elements of resistance to recession now built into our economy in the form of a wide range of social security benefits which I do not need to mention in detail.

Moreover, there is a broad area of what might be called social capital where needed expenditures that were deferred in the past two or three years can now be made, and likely will be made. This includes housing, schools, roads and other public works. Housing will undoubtedly emerge as a source of strength in the years ahead. With special assists from the government and from financial institutions, residential construction was rapidly regaining momentum in 1957, and 1958 could quite possibly see more new dwellings started than any year in our history.

Also, the pick-up in housing will bring with it larger requirements for furnishings and appliances and thus strengthen one of the few weak sectors of retail trade. Apart from this need, which is in early prospect, for the many things that will go into new houses and into (or not quite into) their new garages, there is, I think, a somewhat longer-term swing in the demand for what are called consumer durable goods. Let me put it this way. The high material standard of living we enjoy consists in part of the possession of these fairly long-lasting big-ticket items, of which automobiles, television, automatic washers, home freezers and garburators are a few obvious examples. They are semi-luxuries, the purchases of which, or the upgrading of which into later models, can for a time be postponed. I suspect that the comparatively poor sales of such durables in the past year have been a reflection of a general disposition to postpone their purchase, partly because so many had been bought in the two preceding years, partly because credit, which plays a large role in their purchase, was less readily available. But I feel that this element of postponement will not persist indefinitely. Sooner or later, and possibly before this year is out, there may be a renewed surge of demand for durables apart entirely from that generated by new housing construction.

Nor can I be anything but optimistic about the outlook for our export industries. That we have at the moment capacity to produce more than we can sell is, as I have said, a transient condition. That we have in abundance what other countries, particularly our neighbour, have needed more of in the past and will come to need yet more of in the future, is the abiding fact. You may remember that the Paley Report of 1952 which forecast the enormous needs of the United States for imported materials, especially metals, was published at a time when many of these materials were in ample supply, and its predictions were decried in some quarters. But in the succeeding five years its conclusions were more than vindicated, and I feel sure they will be again.

Even more significant, of course, has been the sweep of the forward look taken by our own Gordon Commission. Seldom, if ever, has a country so thoughtfully, so thoroughly and in such detail attempted to plot the future course of its economy as a basis for examining its policies. In the hundreds of painstaking submissions, which were loosely called "briefs", that were made by business organizations, governmental bodies and individuals across the country, and in the studies and reports that have appeared or are yet to be published, there is a body of knowledge about our economy and its past, and of conscientious conjecture about its future, that will form a sure footing on which to base informed public discussion of current and future problems. Moreover, regardless of what may be thought of some of its particular findings and suggestions, the Gordon Commission has sketched, in broad outline, dimensions of possible future growth which, while not guaranteed, should inspire us to great endeavours.

One aspect of our growth that is worth dwelling on for a moment is population. The number of people in this country has been increasing at a faster rate than for some decades past and at a significantly greater rate than in the United States. Since 1945, our population, apart from the entry of Newfoundland in 1949, has risen 36% while that of the States has risen 23%. When we think that the small fry and teen-agers who now surge around our suburbs will one day be filling out applications in our employment departments, the prospect may be a little frightening, but it is not a prospect of lack of demand for our products and services, or of lack of young people to pitch in and produce them.

There is also, on the horizon, the possibility of an enlarged flow of trade with the United Kingdom that may follow from the Canadian trade mission and the keen and warm reception it received from British firms. Beyond that horizon, again, are the trade possibilities that could arise from the economic integration of Europe that took a step forward this month with the formal inception of the plans for a common market.

In another way, I am beginning to think that a resurgence of demand for industrial materials may be upon us sooner than we expect. I said at the outset that a new dimension had been added to international relations. One satellite, or a second carrying a dog, may not seem significant. There will in time be others, penetrating farther into space, possibly over the moon and even carrying the fabled cow.

What is significant about the satellites is that the race for space will call for new dimensions of effort and expenditure in the free world. The request for authority to spend an additional four billion dollars for defence, which was made by President Eisenhower in his State of the Union Address a week ago, may be only the beginning.

I wish with deep sincerity, as I know you do, that our manpower and our material wealth did not have to be diverted, to an even larger extent than they are now, to armed preparedness. But the defence of our freedom is a matter of paramount importance and urgency to which there can be no alternative. It is a realm in which we must rely on the wisdom of our statesmen. For my part, I feel competent only to comment that what I have called the race for space may be a stronger force than we can yet gauge in changing business conditions from slack to stress in this country as well as in the United States and throughout the Atlantic Community.

To mention the subject of inflation in Canada in January 1958 may seem belated, or premature or even incongruous. As I noted at the beginning, general concern has shifted rather quickly in recent months from inflation to contraction. And as I went on to say, we seem likely to be facing slackening trends for at least the next few months. Inflation and deflation are opposite tendencies and are widely regarded as mutually exclusive. In the short run they are. But in the longer perspective that I have tried to take today, they are manifestations, at different times, of the same thing, namely the undulations in the intensity of business activity that we must expect in this country. In recent years it came to be considered by many that the business cycle was a thing of the past. The year 1954 and the years 1957 and 1958 should serve to remind us that the cycle has not been obliterated. But I believe that progress has been made towards taming it and that the need to mitigate its extremes must be constantly in our minds, on whatever curve of the cycle we happen to be.

Which brings me—and you may have thought I wasn't going to get there—to the role of monetary policy. The late Will Rogers once remarked in his typically dry fashion that "There have been three great inventions since the beginning of time: Fire, the Wheel and Central Banking". Certainly we have all been aware during the last two or three years in this country, as in the United States and elsewhere, that the central bank is a force to be reckoned with and, as you realize, the tight money policy made life very difficult and uncomfortable for the chartered banks, which are the principal means through which central bank policy is implemented. But within its sphere of influence the Bank of Canada has done much towards taming business gyrations by exerting restraint when restraint was called for and subsequently, in the light of changed business conditions in recent months, by permitting a significant degree of monetary ease. Without going into detail, it may be said that monetary restraint is not now an inhibiting factor on the availability of credit through normal channels and for legitimate purposes.

But the responsibility of keeping the Canadian economy on an even keel is not one that should be left primarily or even mainly to the financial system. It must rest as well upon the conscience of governments, business enterprises and individuals. In this connection, I feel strongly that this country's growth will be assured, and the purchasing power of its currency preserved, only if Canadians are prepared to work for those rewards. It has been well said by my distinguished predecessor, Mr. B. C. Gardner, that if we do less for a dollar, we can hardly complain if a dollar does less for us. Rising productivity is the key to rising personal incomes and rising business profits without rising prices—the key to growth without inflation. This country was not built by people whose chief concern was how little they should work.

Given the willingness to work, and given the ability to keep our problems in perspective as we tackle them, we surely need have no misgivings about our short-term, or long-term, prospects.

What can make a difference, however, is our attitude to current conditions. It is really to this psychological factor that my thoughts today have been directed. My remarks, for what conviction they may carry, have been aimed at discouraging discouragement.

Mr. President, I deeply appreciate this opportunity to share my thoughts with the Empire Club. If there were times when my remarks were not exactly solemn, my thoughts were at all times serious. And if I might conclude with a less solemn, but none the less serious, thought, I would suggest that 1958 is a year in which we should be guided in our attitudes and behaviour by the words on the mayonnaise bottle, "Keep cool, but do not freeze".

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Donald H. Jupp, Past President of the Club.

"RACE RELATIONS IN PRACTICE"

An Address by

F. EDWARD LUND, A.B., M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.,
President, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio

Thursday, January 23rd, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: When, last June, our own Dr. Harold Cranfield suggested that we invite Dr. F. Edward Lund—then President of Alabama College in Montevallo, Alabama—to address us on "Segregation and the South" (a subject he is known to deal with superlatively), there seemed to be but a slim chance of his being able to visit us from such a distance. However, fate was with us and Dr. Lund graciously accepted our invitation and advised that he was at that time in the process of leaving Alabama to accept the presidency of Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, where he is now located. To say that we were and are delighted is to put it mildly, and subsequent events have intensified our interest in his subject.

Franze Edward Lund was born in China. His parents were Episcopalian missionaries; his father was American and his mother was Canadian. Dr. Lund's wife is from Alabama. For eleven years, 1946 to 1957, he has been an educationist in Alabama; first as Chairman of the Department of History and Social Science and later as Dean at State College, Florence, and then, for five years, as President of Alabama College (The State College of Liberal Arts) at Montevallo. Prior to this, he was an Instructor at Washington and Lee University and, for seven years, Professor of History at Wisconsin State College.

Dr. Lund attended Trinity College here from 1928 to 1930; Washington and Lee University, where he secured his A.B. (cum laude) in 1933 and his M.A. in 1934; University of Wisconsin for his Ph.D. in 1944; Yale University in 1944-45, and then gained his LL.D. at Birmingham Southern College in 1955.

I have Dr. Lund's permission to omit an impressive list of additional academic honours and recognitions, and to refer to him as a half-breed Canadian who has spent a great deal of time in the South and who is now President of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.

Gentlemen, I am happy to present Dr. F. Edward Lund.

DR. LUND: I should like to warn you at the outset, that you are not about to hear a solution of the race-issue, or even a studied and balanced exposition of the public school integration crisis in the deep South. I make no apology for this because the integration crisis is so charged with prejudice, so lacerated by political issues, so morally profound, and so emotionally dispersed, that any honest man had best refrain from throwing additional kindling into the fire.

What you are about to hear is a first-hand interpretation from an individual possessing a rather cosmopolitan point of view who happened to have lived in the South for something over a quarter century. If this point of view has become fixed, it is fixed in compassion—compassion for the negro, compassion for the blind ignorance, the bigotry, and the self-righteousness of all those who have convinced themselves of pat and easy answers.

If there is any excuse for such a limited report as this, I would ask you to consider that a true picture of the race problem does not come from the decision of the Supreme Court of the U.S. as delivered on May 17, 1954. Nor is it to be arrived at by a review of the history of the preceding sixty years when, since 1896, under the precedent of the *Plessy* decision, "separate but equal" was the law of the land. A knowledge of these facts we must assume, for they explain both the revulsion of anger, the betrayal felt by many of the native, white Southerners—as well as the exultation, the resurgence and rebirth of faith in human liberty of the depressed negro.

Perhaps all that I can provide today is something of a corrective to the headlines—some human details to frenzied publicity, the fiasco of bigotry, and the bumbling bureaucracy so vividly associated with Governor Faubus, and with Little Rock. In this connection and as an antidote, we should all recall the Louisville story, where in contrast a native Southerner, an Alabamian, Omar Carmichael, supervised the peaceful and orderly integration of the public school system of a traditionally Southern city of half a million.

Such big stories furnish the broad picture, the panorama of the unfolding development of integration. My purpose here today is to recall the personal detail—and within this extent merely to point out some considerations which you might otherwise overlook.

My first experience with segregation was some twenty-five years ago, when as a young college instructor in Virginia, I occasionally went quail-shooting with my coloured barber: Bob. (Now, the sociologist would stop here to note that in Virginia, or at least some parts of it, coloured barbers are common. In other sections of the South, no white person would permit his hair to be trimmed in a barbershop operated by negroes. Patterns of segregation are capricious, and even in the South, seldom uniform.) It is perhaps to the point to explain that Bob was the sort of man best described in any idiom as a "sport." He was part-negro; that is to say, in at least equal portions, possibly seven-eighths, he was white. (And the sociologist would note here that this is not exceptional in the border-states. Only the whites of the deep South, as it were, have preserved their racial purity.) Bob was fat and jovial, and as it suited his purpose, both obsequious and impertinent. He was past fifty, almost white-headed; and as I reflect upon his behaviour it was directed toward attracting friends and clients, yet preserving his own self-respect. A man has to live also for a purpose; and to the best of my recollection Bob admitted to just two great passions: the pursuit of wild game, hunting and fishing, and the conquest of women.

If you are philosophically inclined, you will pause at this point, to consider as a moral issue whether it was proper for me to associate myself with Bob to hunt quail, yet to disassociate myself as a friend from his other interests. (I could evade this issue by asking whether it is permitted to sympathize with Uncle Remus?) As an issue of personal discrimination, it had never occurred to me that human association by its very nature is not partial—limited to those for whom one discovers an affinity, and limited also to the specific affinity shared. To push either friendship or human association further, to claim that one must open his life completely, or not at all, is not bending life to conform to a moral law; but it is twisting the moral basis of discrimination into indiscrimination, into immorality. This unrestrained logic disturbed neither Bob nor myself. Professionally, he was my barber, socially he was my hunting companion; within very limited application, and chiefly upon the level of camaraderie we became friends. Let me observe in passing that there was nothing surreptitious or even false about our association. In the South dedicated personal friendships between white and black are frequent. The Southern white likes the negro as an individual; he despises the race; the Northerner has convinced himself of a love for the race, barely tolerates the individual. (This is not a paradox; merely a generalization.)

When Bob and I were in the field, he carried his lunch and I carried mine. At lunch hour, we sought the advantage of a sunny slope, or shady tree, as the weather determined. We ate together quite as a matter of course. While eating, each one of us bragged greatly over his easy hits, and made plausible alibis and great lies for his misses. If I ever had any reservations about Bob on the score of his sportsmanship, it was for the unrestrained persistence with which he would "ride" me—especially when back in town, a good public had gathered in his shop, and he had me secure in his chair. Now I understand better that one simply should not place any trust in barbers!

Our companionship developed over several hunting seasons. One day it happened that we stopped at a farmhouse to ask permission to hunt, and were promptly joined by the farmer—a native and white. I thought little of it, let alone that any relationship between two people can become a social problem as soon as a third is involved. Nor did I think twice at noon when our host invited us back to his home for lunch. As I recall, we each took turns at the pump standing in the farmyard. Then the farmer said to me "Mister, you come with me." And there must have been a shade of implication in it, for I turned to old Bob standing by the pump. Both of us were a trifle embarrassed, but Bob affected unconcern, which only made me more ill at ease, so ill at ease, in fact, that I cannot recall precisely what I said. I would like to think that I protested to my host that I should rather sit out in the yard and to eat my own lunch with Bob. Whatever the protest, faint or strong, I do recall Bob's words:

"You go into the house, *Mister*. White folks eat up front. Coloured folk eat in the kitchen. And don't worry about me, for it suits me fine."

So Bob ate in the kitchen. And I ate with the farmer and his wife in the dining room—the farmer, his wife, myself, and Bob's hunting dog. And it was the presence of the dog which brought me a flush of guilt and anger.

Yet when we got up in the woods together and off alone, Bob was barely amused by my self-righteousness.

"Mister Buck," he conciliated me with the use of my nickname, "this white farmer, he's my friend same as you. He gives me his business. And he lets me hunt on his farm. And I'm sure he never sat down to eat with his coloured cook. So what you upset over?"

I'm not sure that I understood then, and I'm not sure that I understand now. I explained to Bob that if a man was good enough to hunt with, in my book, he was good enough to eat with. I am not sure this was not the most obvious, arrogant, and stupid comment I ever made. And Bob tripped me neatly on this sophistry:

"Shore now," he accused me, "and this farmer also comes to my house of a Saturday night. And he stays to have a drink with me and the old lady. You ain't never done that."

To which there is no answer. But at least it brings us to perhaps the basic question of the segregation issue: personal discrimination is one thing, and legal discrimination is another. Somewhere, whether in work or play, or in daily living, or in sinning, the line of individual prejudice, taste or discrimination can and will be drawn—sooner or later. The South understands this, and the North is beginning to do so.

What the South has yet to learn, however, is that to take one's personal discriminations, or even those shared by a locality or region, and to legislate these into law prescribing who shall sit with whom, and when; and who shall eat with whom, or where; and where one race may wash and where another; and to which school this child shall go, or where the other—to enforce this as a matter of law purely on the score of race is not justice but injustice; not equality but bigotry; for such laws restrict the concept of liberty to a favoured race, and it distorts all individual freedom into personal prejudice. Segregation laws are not simply restrictive, they are prescriptive; and they do not encourage moral choice, they destroy it.

The chief disagreement which I have with the Supreme Court's decision is that it was rendered upon the grounds of sociological and psychological speculation, and not verifiable facts. The mass of evidence was easily obtainable. I regret also that there was no admission of the Supreme Court's own complicity in the past sixty years of attempted "separate but not equal" judication. A good confession would have relieved the South from much of the burden of guilt. Frankly, I regret that the learned and self-righteous judges did not possess the spiritual humility to invoke the divine and moral law—at least to the degree consistent with the American Declaration of Independence and United States Constitution. Finally, though the Court's decision for public school desegregation invited the South to participate in the "when" and "how"—as a federal and supreme court, the participation of the federal government could and should have been invited. The issue should have been frankly faced that if a federal court possessed jurisdiction, then federal responsibility was *equally* involved. As it was, the Court's "Black Friday" decision threw moral obloquy on the South, for having diligently pursued a principle which the Supreme Court itself had now suddenly reversed, and reversed with a self-righteousness which said "these are *your* schools" but "these are *our* laws."

The result was quite predicable. Excepting for a few humanitarians, loyal Southerners were infuriated at what appeared from their point of view to be a betrayal. What lingering sense of guilt might have found expression was soon swallowed in anger. The well-developed sensitivities of the rebel South, still smarting from defeat in the Civil War, developed a chauvinism and self-righteousness which has smouldered ever since the days of Reconstruction. I know, because I was there. And even though more a foreigner than a native, I felt dismayed and angered—angered that the Court made no attempt to justify its break with precedent, and only a partial attempt to face the full implifications of the race issue. My sympathies then as now are with the South.

Originally, of course, in the months following the May 17, 1954, decision the South was stunned. The situation reminded me of the "phony war"—those quiet days following the Polish "blitz" before the assault on the Maginot Line.

During these days the middle-of-the-roader, the men of good will, the social agencies, church leaders, and service clubs could talk of improving race relations. I remember in Birmingham, at this time, an especially zealous crusader for segregation in all public places—one known as "Bull" Connor—was thrown out of office on the City Commission. At the same time, the colleges and universities of the state joined with the Jefferson County Coordinating Council to sponsor a two-day conference on "The Status of the Negro" in the South. On the program and in the audience both races were equally represented. Other signs of inter-racial good-will were then fairly common.

I recall one rainy night travelling by bus across the northern end of the state. The bus driver had passed up several groups of coloured folk standing by the side of the road; but by the time he had left three or four groups standing in the darkness and the rain, he suddenly discovered that his bus load of white passengers, mostly local farmers and residents, were infuriated. That bus driver stopped the bus, switched on the lights, and explained to his passengers that a second section was following him to pick up local fares. This was clear evidence that the good folk of northern Alabama put a limit, at least, to what they would condone by way of discrimination.

After the succession of incidents and attendant publicity, however, the climate of opinion changed. After the Autherine Lucy case at the University of Alabama, the Till murder and trial in Mississippi, and the Clinton, Tennessee, agitation, the gradualist was howled down as a "nigger-lover"; and the man of temperate views who advocated moderation was tagged as a member of the N.A.A.C.P. What occurred was a sharp split in public opinion, or as the sociologists would describe it, "opinion polarized": on the one side the shrill voiced, the self-righteous, and ritualistic liberals—the Americans For Democratic Action, the left and northern wing of the Democratic Party, the N.A.A.C.P.; on the other side practically to a man ranged most of the spokesmen and all of the professional leaders and politicians of the South. The middle-of-the-roader was silent for he was either knocked down or driven into the ditch.

For example, the Jefferson County Coordinating Council now disbanded. First, their financial support from the Birmingham Community Chest was withdrawn. Then, they could not find any leader of prominence and stature in the community who would accept the chairmanship of the organization. Mr. Bull Connor who would arrest any white man, or coloured, who sat in a segregated audience, now shortly returned to office. And generally, throughout the state of Alabama at least, the Montgomery branch of the Citizens Councils raced for membership with the Councils led by that firebrand Asa Carter. The distinction between these two groups may not be so well understood in the North. The legitimate Councils led by

Sam Englehart of Montgomery consists largely of propertied men, merchants and farmers, and this group advocates resistance to integration by all legal and peaceful means. The Asa Carter branch, like the Klan is generally thought to advocate force; and many of the members of this group have been arrested, and some convicted, for various acts of assault—including the very recent castration of an innocent negro.

These are perhaps just two aspects, related aspects certainly, of the integration crisis which are difficult to explain. The first is to explain how public opinion can be so organized as to blot out all dissent; the second is to explain how intimidation of the negro can be carried and pressed but without more serious violence, race riots and public protests. Perhaps three or four observations might be relevant here.

In the first place, it should be noted that the South generally—except when misled and goaded as in Little Rock—opposes violence. The influential majority of the Citizens Councils acknowledge privately that when violence breaks out, the cause of states rights and segregation will be lost. Newspapers as a matter of decency oppose violence even when they advocate the modern counterpart of secession—that is, interposition. And to sustain the rapidly developing prosperity and industrialization of the South, all financial interests and industry support a peaceful settlement.

In place of violence there is a cool-headed, resolute, and tight-lipped determination to hold-the-line. Any admission that a teacher favours integration, as happened at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, leads to a dismissal. Slighter concessions of softness on the racial question brings social ostracism, insults to one's family, and for community leaders, such as preachers, cross burnings; lesser folk can expect a visit from the Klan. And, of course, if a college president, or politician, or semi-public figure should speak out too boldly or pointedly, there would be reprisals from his constituency. Not only do all the pressures of society operate to produce conformity; but there is also the taint of being disloyal—to a harassed and conscience stricken people alternately proud and rebellious, yet injured. What we are dealing with here is the whole book of chauvinism, magnificent loyalty, stubborness, bigotry and self-righteousness.

And there is a second group of very major influences which should be mentioned, for every society is governed no less by hidden and unseen powers than by visible authority. A merchant needs bank credit, and customers, and the loyalty of his employees. A college needs also either state appropriations or gifts. (Some also need their alumni and football players.) Young men look for promotion and recognition. Old men look for peace and for the security of old age. It is difficult to generalize how public pressures operate; but I can mention a few brief incidents.

Our local congressman told me one day of a visit he had received from a constituent of his, a coloured undertaker who owned a smart, black limousine. He told me that after their business was concluded he had walked out to see his visitor off, and to admire his Cadillac. As the coloured owner slipped behind the wheel, he whipped out from beneath the seat a visored chauffeur's cap which he slapped on his head. My congressman expressed surprise and received the following explanation:

"What chance would a negro stand with the highway patrol, driving a big, black Cadillac across the state?"

Our own gardener, who doubled as official chauffeur, also had his difficulties. First, there was a loan shark who took him for $50.00 interest on a $100.00 loan, then threatened to sue for an alleged unpaid balance of $75.00. We arranged an advance in salary, and settled out of court. Two months later, my man got clipped at an intersection under a changing light. Three coloured witnesses testified somewhat reluctantly that the white driver drove into a red light; but the judge took the word of the white driver. Our gardener insisted to me in confidence, that justice had miscarried; but he also allowed that he did not believe the discrimination was clearly racial. It was just tough to be the underdog. That this was a charitable view was confirmed some weeks later when the said gardener came walking to work without his car. Suspecting another wreck, I asked, "Will, where's your car?" And he very truthfully explained to me as one man to another:

"Boss, I had a hell of a time! Got drunk last Saturday night. And the cops got after me, and I chased down some country road, and ran out of gas. And you know, Boss, by the time I walk to a gas station and sober up, I can't remember where I left the car."

His son found the car by noon; and I have never told this story before. But the fact that it is tough to be the underdog was proved a very few weeks later. His son turned the car over in broad daylight in downtown Birmingham and was lodged in the city jail for careless driving. I must record, with all faithfulness to the truth however, that no charges having been placed against the son, he was released without bond the next morning; and the father collected for the deductible collision on his car.

After these incidents, a certain degree of confidence was established between us. We talked frankly of the police, the courts, and the white man's law. "Will" held to some very moderate views. He felt that one must distinguish between white men, and no less so with his coloured neighbours. The local justice of the peace he trusted implicitly. The local police, he felt, were exacting only toward those coloured who were thought to be "smart and uppity." Finally, he thought also that all police were too severe on coloured bootleggers and wild parties—though he conceded that something might be said for the prevention of knife fights and the restraint of young bucks on a tear.

As a considered opinion, I would say that police powers of the South—the county sheriffs, city police, and the local and state courts generally—support "law and order," first, and justice second. The negro is not harassed; he is definitely "kept in his place." There are almost no visible agitators for negro rights excepting ordained ministers and big-city lawyers, both, in a sense protected occupations. Hence, real support for the negro must come from the North—generally through the N.A.A.C.P.

And as for white friends of the negro, excepting again for a few Protestant ministers and the Roman Catholic Church, almost no one speaks out openly against the certain censure of merchant and banker, the political organization, and the community leadership—what is generally described as the Establishment.

The establishment in the South, from the Southern delegation in Washington to the state capitals and down to the local courthouse gangs, have now grimly set themselves to retain segregation by all peaceful means; and to stifle any attempt at concession.

In the deep South, from South Carolina across Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi to Louisiana we have now either a stalemate or uneasy truce. Basically, I attribute the cause for this to the spectacle of federal troops and bayonets in Little Rock. Neither side now wishes to crowd the issue.

At this point, it is most hazardous to generalize, yet certain evidences are plainly evident. The membership in the White Citizens Councils has risen—and again I remind you that this is a stubborn group grimly determined to resist, but to resist peacefully. Against this, in the North the voice of moderation appears to have gained—the most recent evidence of this being the first article in the recent issue of the *Atlantic Monthly,* and the furor last week occasioned by a negro who denounced the N.A.A.C.P. for its aggressive tactics. In the South meanwhile, as though the center of the storm had passed, I find encouragement in the plea for moderation and Christian principle issued in Atlanta by the local association of white ministers.

Personally, I believe a breathing spell is needed—and that it will hasten and not delay a real solution in any profound sense. By this I do not advocate simply leaving the South alone. I deny that the issue of legal segregation is exclusively a Southern problem: it is in the United States a national problem; and it is a world problem. Let us not forget the primitive even demonic reversion to *apartheid* in South Africa. "No man is an island" nor is any region or society which admits the obligations of civilized decency or Christian witness. Therefore moderation must not be confused with stagnation. There must be a firm, consistent and positive pressure of enlightened opinion, of judicial and legislative reform, and popular education. In this it is my personal hope that our Christian churches will take the lead.

Because the South is now defensive and passively upholds the negative side, the eventual dissolution of *legal* segregation is inevitable. Social discrimination, on the other hand, may never be completely erased. Sociology (for which I have no great respect, believing as I do, the wit who said: "Sociology is the study of jargon—invented for this purpose!") Sociologists have a term for this situation. It is "accommodation." I believe that with consistent, non-aggressive pressure the South will reach an accommodation. This will be some formulae which will abandon legal segregation, yet release social pressures through "freedom of choice"—where in urban centers and in larger counties there will be predominantly negro schools, and predominantly white schools, and some mixed schools. I do not know that this will happen. Yet in Virginia and in many of the larger industrial cities of the deep South this pattern is already emerging at least as an intermediary solution, a compromise.

Every compromise is simply another stage in the pattern of racial adjustment and the growth of civilization. But there is evidence to encourage the view that it is already here. Failing this, I sorely feel, the alternative may be "push-day."

I shall conclude with a very brief explanation of an incident, a race riot, if you prefer, that never happened.

At the very height of the Arthurine Lucy case in Alabama, I had occasion to drive into the steel-mill town of Bessemer. We had recently deputized six of the college maintanence staff to police the college just in case any hoodlums should cause trouble—and trouble could have developed from any number of circumstances, not the least being that one of our students had elected to deliver a speech the previous Sunday evening in the local Methodist Church, urging integration and Brotherly Love. This girl had then received several phone calls warning her to leave town within 24 hours. So while I judged the girl was safe, nevertheless, it seemed not unreasonable to have some watchmen available, and to sustain their courage I thought they should have at least one battered second-hand pistol to wear with a badge. The storekeeper in Bessemer laughed at me. I tried a second store. The same curt refusal even though I identified myself as the chief administrative officer of a state institution. But the second merchant asked rather incredulously if I had not heard of "push-day."

Push-day, it developed, according to a wildfire of rumour, had been expected imminently. On push-day, every negro worker in the town was to push the white folks off the sidewalk into the gutter. And so, every old pistol, every new pistol, and all ammunition had been sold out in the city of Bessemer. On push-day, if it ever came, there would be bloodshed.

Push-day, of course, has never come anywhere in the South during the current crisis.

I have some bright eyed, zealous friends who despise compromise. Whenever they ridicule my concept of accommodation, I remember the tenseness in Bessemer, and the push-day which never came, because apparently no one—either black or white—has so far pushed too hard. I find hope in this and the greatest assurance for a peaceful solution.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Dr. Harold V. Cranfield.

"TRADITIONS AND TRENDS IN CANADA'S PUBLIC SERVICE"

An Address by

ARNOLD DANFORTH PATRICK HEENEY,
Q.C., M.A., B.C.L., LL.D.,
Chairman, Civil Service Commission of Canada

Thursday, January 30th, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: On 25th October, 1951 this Club was honoured, along with the Toronto Branch of the United Nations Association in Canada, with a brilliant address on the subject "The United Nations Today and Tomorrow" by our then Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, Dr. Arnold Danford Patrick Heeney, Q.C., M.A., B.C.L., LL.D.

Much of importance has happened to Dr. Heeney since that date. In 1952-53 he was Canadian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council and to the Organization for European Economic Co-operation. Then, from July, 1953 to May, 1957, he was Canadian Ambassador to the United States of America and now, as from 15th May, 1957, he is the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission of Canada.

Needless to say, we have invited him on several occasions in the interval to address us again on any subject of his own choosing, but, until to-day, circumstances have always intervened.

Consequently, we are truly delighted to welcome him back, both personally and in his new capacity, and we consider ourselves highly honoured by his acceptance of our invitation to be our guest speaker to-day.

Dr. Heeney was born in Montreal, son of an Anglican clergyman (and proud father of another) and educated in Winnipeg, Oxford and Montreal. Mr. Heeney has an impressive academic background, holding a B.A. and M.A. from Manitoba University; B.A. and M.A., as a Rhodes Scholar, from St. John's College, Oxford; and B.C.L. from McGill University. To prove the point, as it were, he has since been honoured with the LL.D. by the Universities of British Columbia and Manitoba; and by Franklin and Marshall College, Kenyon College and Michigan State University of the U.S.A.

Admitted to the Bar of Quebec at 27 years of age, he practised law in Montreal and lectured at McGill. In 1941, he was called to the Inner Bar as a King's Counsel.

In 1938, Dr. Heeney entered the Civil Service of Canada as Principal Secretary to Prime Minister King, who had a great reputation for recognizing talent when he saw it. 1940 found Dr. Heeney as Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet in which important and sensitive posts he remained until 1949, when he was transferred to External Affairs as Under-Secretary. I do not doubt that he could, if he would, write an intensely fascinating chronicle of what transpired behind the scenes during and following World War II.

Now he is Chairman of the Civil Service Commission of Canada, which directs the destinies of over 150,000 federal employees. His subject for to-day is: "Traditions and Trends in Canada's Public Service".

Gentlemen: Dr. Arnold D. P. Heeney.

DR. HEENEY: It seemed to me appropriate that I should speak to this Empire Club about "traditions"—particularly so since in the Public Service, as in other institutions of government, we share with other countries of the Commonwealth the noble heritage of Britain. But, as I would not wish to encourage any impression that the Civil Service of Canada is static, wholly backward-looking, I have added "trends" to my title to suggest that we are also in a state of motion. So, with one foot poised somewhat uncertainly in the future, it is comforting for the new Civil Service Commissioners to reflect that the other foot is so firmly planted in the past. Which will not, I trust convey an impression of instability to what I shall have to say about "Traditions and Trends in Canada's Civil Service".

It is now more than a hundred years since patronage was abandoned as the basis of appointment and preferment in the Civil Service of Great Britain. Before then, sporadic attempts had been made to improve conditions of public employment. The recommendations of Lord Macaulay for India had pointed the way. But it was the celebrated report of Trevelyan and Northcote in 1853 that laid the foundation for the modern British Service. Their report still stands as an eloquent and succinct statement of the principles of what has come to be known as "the merit system".

It was more than fifty years later that we in Canada riveted home the same principles in effective legislation and the fact that we did so then was largely due to British example. Our Civil Service reformers in the '90s and in the first two decades of this century made generous employment of British experience in devising their remedies for a situation in which public appointments were made for party advantage—in which, as a consequence, inefficiency and waste characterized the conduct of much of the nation's business. Here, as in much else, we Canadians owe much to 19th century Britain.

It was not long after Confederation that the first of a long series of enquiries by Royal Commissions and Select Committees of Parliament investigated the operation of the Dominion Civil Service. The proponents of radical change in the prevailing regime of patronage were to be found on both sides of the House. The more altruistic motive of improving public administration by the adoption of a system which would enable appointments to be based on competence was powerfully re-inforced by the increasing irritations of having to parcel out a limited supply of jobs to meet the unlimited demands of party adherents and hangers-on. Successive reports recommended that political allegiance and the will of local patronage committees be replaced by competition and selection by an independent authority on the basis of merit. Over these years, a number of bills were introduced and enacted by Parliament with a view to the adoption of these principles. But their provisions were frustrated by amendment or circumvented in practice. It was not until 1918 that the statute by which we are presently governed became law. From that year, we can accurately date the elimination of the old patronage system from the regular Civil Service of Canada and the beginning of the existing "career" tradition. Patronage died hard. For, even after 1918, efforts were made, and vigorous efforts, inside and outside Parliament, to emasculate the law and to bring back, in one guise or other, the old spoils system. But the main battle had been won and, fortunately, the proponents of a permanent Civil Service—on the British model—were many and powerful in Parliament and in the country. Attempts to reverse the trend have proved futile ever since.

The establishment of the merit system was a notable victory—won over many years by the efforts of illustrious Canadians in both the great political parties. It was a victory we should not forget, one which has borne important national fruits ever since, for it laid the foundation of our national administrative services on the basis of competence, impartiality and permanence.

Recently we have had impressive evidence of the strength of the tradition established then. Last summer you will recall we had a somewhat dramatic change in Ottawa. After twenty-two years of governments of the same party, the Capital awoke to find a Ministry of the principal opposition party about to take office. In this novel situation there were some who wondered whether the civil servants, all but a handful of whom, had known only the old masters, would be able to adapt themselves to new Ministers and new policies. And there were some who wondered whether the new Ministers would be content to have as their principal advisers and executive arms those who had been so intimately engaged for so long in the affairs of their political opponents. In the event—as many of you will be aware—but it bears repeating I think —the changeover from Liberal to Conservative rule in Ottawa, was accomplished with extraordinary little administrative disturbance and surprisingly little fuss. And now, after many months of the new Administration—and they have not been placid months in either national or international affairs—the working relations between the principal civil servants and the Ministers at the head of the departments of government are, I believe, firmly established on a basis of mutual confidence, respect and understanding.

This, surely, is the evidence of the enduring acceptance in Canada of the principles embodied in the present Civil Service Act. The separation of the Service from party politics is a proud and valuable tradition which we should prize and cherish. It will be maintained safe and sound provided that we remain on guard, that our law and practice continue anchored in the merit system.

There have been a good many changes in the Civil Service in the past forty years. The most striking is the immense increase in its size. This is not infrequently cited as evidence of the extravagancies and inefficiency of government undertakings. And this on the basis of elementary and totally misleading arithmetical calculations—usually based on comparative population figures. The inference, however, is quite unsound. The primary reason for the large increase in government employment over the past generations is that the Canadian people, like the people of other countries, have demanded from their governments a wide range of services and benefits which in previous generations were regarded as the responsibility of the individual, or of private or public charity, or of Providence. This in turn has led directly and inevitably to the employment of the thousands, and thousands, of men and women who have entered state employment since the '30s. This is by no means wholly due to the new social services, but to other things as well in immense variety—research and development of all kinds, assistance for commerce, agriculture, fisheries—and much more. All of which entails more civil servants. We have come a long way from the days when all that was expected of government was to maintain internal order, to defend the frontiers, and to deliver the mail. Adlai Stevenson once remarked to an American audience "your public servants serve you right".

They do in this country too; and, by and large, we get just about as many as we deserve.

This first trend in our Civil Service—has been accompanied by a second perhaps even more significant—the increased importance and influence of senior civil servants.

The very volume of public business has compelled Ministers to cast more and more of the burden on their officials. The Minister's limited time has to be divided between his political and his administrative duties. Whatever the number and quality of his staff the tax upon his own physical and intellectual resources remains enormous. As a direct consequence—in order to carry on—the Minister has often no alternative but to entrust all but major policy matters to his subordinates.

Because of this—because of these larger responsibilities thrust upon officials by necessity—it has become essential in the national interest that we should have a Civil Service of high capacity and complete integrity.

We in Canada have inherited a splendid tradition. We are fortunate too, in my judgment, in the quality of our civil servants.

The present Leader of the Government in the House of Commons recently called them "the best Civil Service in the world". This was a generous and encouraging tribute. My own view is that the average department of government is as well run as the average private undertaking of comparable complexity and extent. Though this is certainly not to say that there is not plenty of room for improvement.

Those who do business with government often grow impatient and critical at having to comply with complicated and ponderous procedures which sometimes involve irksome delays—and in which they see no sense. This is the familiar problem of government red-tape. In some degree this will always be with us, for such conditions have normally been prescribed to serve some solid public purpose. In government employment, for example, the regulations which govern the process of appointment and advancement are designed to prevent improper pressures and safeguard the merit system. Nevertheless, there is an undoubted tendency in all large organizations—perhaps government especially—toward the proliferation of regulations. And this calls for a process of constant scrutiny and adaptation.

Some of our difficulties can, I believe, be overcome or at least alleviated, within present laws by administrative improvements in the Commission and in the departments. And a good deal is being done as we go along.

But there are other problems which require more fundamental treatment. For the fact is that the Civil Service Act was drafted, and well drafted, in conditions quite different, for an essentially negative and defensive purpose—the elimination and prevention of patronage. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that forty years later the Act is not in all particulars adequate to the larger positive needs of our public personnel administration.

It is for this reason that the Government has asked the Civil Service Commissioners to review the whole fabric of law and regulation under which Federal personnel administration is presently conducted and the role of the Commission itself. When we have completed our studies we are to submit to Government a report with our recommendations for a regime more suitable to modern conditions.

On this task my colleagues and I are presently engaged. In it we shall have and need the assistance and suggestions of government departments who are our customers on the side of management. We shall also have, from the employees' point of view, the help of the staff associations of the Civil Service.

One of our main objectives in these endeavours, as I see it now, will be to devise means by which the Government Service can increase its efficiency of operation without jeopardizing the merit system—to improve personnel administration in the Civil Service along lines which accord with the best modern practice and with due regard to the rights and interests of the employees.

Some of the questions with which we shall have to grapple are familiar to industry and other outside employers; others peculiar to government. Here are some of them:

Should all employees of the Crown of Canada come under the Civil Service Act? At present there are many thousands who do not; the bulk of them being "prevailing rates" and casual workers employed directly by departments.

How and to what extent should civil servants participate in the determination of their own pay and working conditions? This is ultimately a matter of government policy but the Commission, which has statutory responsibility for recommending salary and wage levels, will be closely affected by developments in this field.

How can we reconcile the necessary safeguards for the merit system, of which the Commission is the custodian, with the extent of departmental authority required for efficient management? Here again, before submitting recommendations, the Commission will have to weigh with great care the evidence on both sides and seek to strike a balance between two points of view.

Another matter to which I think we should give attention is further means of encouraging a wider reflection in the Public Service of the national character of all of Canada. And this without impinging on the essentials of the merit system and the competitive examination procedure which we must at all costs retain. It seems to me that it is of particular importance to a wide and varied country like ours, that our Public Service should reflect in broad measures the nation and its people.

In Ottawa, I believe, we have at present a fair degree of representation from the various regions, but I am not sure that we could not do more to encourage larger numbers of suitably qualified candidates from parts of Canada more remote from the Capital to present themselves for examination. There might, also, I believe be more movement of departmental officials between regions of the country. Certainly there are difficulties, including those of cost, in such suggestions. But here perhaps is an opportunity to serve a general objective of national importance, the greater unity of Canada.

We will, doubtless, wish to introduce into our report provision for much that is new in the art—I find it difficult to regard it as a science—of personnel management.

We will, I imagine, wish to give due place to such matters as training, counselling, career planning and other phases of personnel administration where further profitable developments could take place.

In this task the Civil Service Commissioners are increasingly conscious of the important national responsibility that has been given them. But we have also been accorded an unusual opportunity. We hope that the timing may prove propitious and that other efforts may evoke a larger public interest in the Civil Service. "Civil Service Reform" in 1958, though perhaps not so urgent and compelling a battle cry as in those earlier days when raised against patronage and corruption, is still I believe a cause above party in which all Canadians have a close concern. Its course over the next few years may well be influenced to no small extent by public appreciation of the important national issues involved.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Bruce J. Legge, First Vice-President of the Club.

"THE DYNAMICS OF A TRADE MISSION"

An Address by

JAMES S. DUNCAN, C.M.G., LL.D.,
Chairman, The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario

Joint Meeting with the Canadian Club of Toronto

Thursday, February 6th, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: We have assembled to-day to hear an address by Honorary Air Commodore James Stuart Duncan, C.M.G., LL.D.—Chairman, The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, "Canadian Business and Public Servant Extraordinary" and a fellow club member.

While it may be said that, to this Toronto audience, no further introduction is necessary—it would be unforgivable to fail to make the most of this opportunity of drawing inspiration from brief reference to some of the highlights of Dr. Duncan's distinguished career.

Born in Paris, France, of Scottish parents, while his father was Manager for France of the Massey-Harris Company, Mr. Duncan's business experience commenced as an office boy, at sixteen, with Massey-Harris in Berlin, Germany. Soon he was sent to Canada for factory and sales work.

At the beginning of World War I he returned to France prior to enlisting as a gunner in the Royal Field Artillery. War's end found him a captain with a Mention in Despatches.

Rejoining Massey-Harris on demobilization in 1919 he remained abroad and by 1931 became European Manager. In 1933 he was posted to Buenos Aires as General Manager of the Argentine Division; then, in 1935, to Toronto as General Sales Manager, Assistant General Manager and General Manager within that year. By 1941 he was President, and by 1949 he was also Chairman of the Board.

Amalgamation with the Harry Ferguson Companies followed and, upon Mr. Ferguson's early retirement, Mr. Duncan again became President and Chairman. In June, 1956, Mr. Duncan himself retired as Chairman, President and Director of Massey-Harris-Ferguson Limited.

Within five months, on 1st November, 1956, Premier Leslie Frost appointed him Chairman of The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, whereupon Mr. Duncan resigned from the boards of many other leading Canadian companies.

Now let us glance at his astonishing accomplishments in public service during World War II and since. By 1941 he had been Acting Deputy Minister of National Defence for Air; had directed the organizational phase of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, and was back at Massey-Harris gearing it for war production. Before war's end he had served as Chairman of the Combined Agricultural and Food Committee at Washington; as a Member of the National Research Council; as Honorary President, Fighting French, Toronto Section, and as Chairman of the United Welfare Chest and of the Board of Trade, Toronto.

His own Sovereign recognized his wartime services by appointing him a Companion of the Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George. France made him a Chevalier of the French Legion of Honour and presented him with the Croix de Lorraine, Norway awarded him the King Haakon VII Cross of Norway and Canada gazetted him to the rank of Honorary Air Commodore, R.C.A.F.

In 1949 he became Chairman of the newly formed Dollar-Sterling Trade Council; 1955 saw the birth of the Australian-Canadian Association with Mr. Duncan at its

Chairman. In June, 1956, the National Sales Executive Organization of the U.S.A. chose him as the "Canadian Businessman of the Year". In September, 1956, during his retirement, Mr. Duncan chaired the National Conference on Engineering, Scientific and Technical Manpower at St. Andrews-by-the-Sea (about which he gave us a report on 10th December, 1956) and, following this conference, he was appointed Chairman of the National Advisory Committee on the Advancement of Education.

The London House Association of Canada elected Mr. Duncan its Chairman in April, 1957. Dartmouth College of Hanover, New Hampshire, conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on him in September, 1957.

Two months later, November last,, our Canadian Government instituted the Canadian Trade Mission to Great Britain and from this came another call to public service at the national level for Mr. Duncan. As its Deputy Chairman, he spent most of December in the United Kingdom and the Mission's activities there made headlines. This assignment has not yet been concluded nor have the results become fully apparent.

We consider ourselves fortunate, then, that Mr. Duncan has chosen for his subject to-day "The Dynamics of a Trade Mission".

Gentlemen: Mr. James S. Duncan, Chairman, The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario.

MR. DUNCAN: The Canadian Trade Mission to Britain arrived at London Airport on the 22nd of November and remained in Great Britain for a period of three and a half weeks. It aroused a degree of public interest, not only in governmental circles but among the industrialists, the business men and, more important still, among the general public, which went far beyond the fondest hopes of those who were responsible for its organization.

I suppose it can be said without exaggeration that more words were written and spoken about Canada during this short period than throughout the previous five years. Even if nothing else was accomplished, our two countries have undoubtedly been brought closer together as a result of our visit.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, while speaking at a luncheon tendered to our mission on the day of our departure, undoubtedly expressed the views of the British people as a whole when he said, "The arrival of the Canadian Trade Mission here is the best thing that has happened to this country in 1957 and for some time before that. I cannot think of a better Christmas present to British industry."

Several reasons explain the remarkable impact which our trade mission had upon the British public. The originality of its conception, the fact that it was the largest trade delegation which had ever left the shores of Canada or had, for that matter, ever been received in Britain from anywhere, the unselfish motives which inspired it, the quality and influence of the delegates themselves, the Mission's fortunate timing, which coincided with a period when the demand from the home and sterling markets was less pressing, all these were the elements contributing to the mission's outstanding success.

But the spontaneous upsurge of public interest and approval which greeted our Mission, and gathered in strength as we went along, cannot be explained by these factors alone. It is in the British people's sure instinct in public affairs, born of generations of experience in world events, that we must look for the explanation. They realized instinctively that here was a Canadian gesture whose significance reached well beyond commercial considerations, basic and fundamental as these are, into the realm of closer relationship and Commonwealth ties.

The fact that Canada on her own initiative had sent over this mission, made up of representative and influential Canadians headed by the Minister of Trade and Commerce and sponsored by the Canadian Government, to explore the possibility of stimulating Anglo-Canadian trade, and primarily to assist British exporters to obtain a larger share of our total imports, gave rise to sentiments of appreciation and enthusiasm which grew daily in force and vigour throughout our sojourn in England and had not reached their peak at the time of our departure.

The requests for individual interviews with members of our trade mission, which were received from large and small business firms seeking information about Canada, and which in the London area alone amounted to 1,400, were still growing in number when we left Britain.

Much of the success of our visit was undoubtedly due to the brilliant organizational work which the British authorities had undertaken so as to ensure that our three and a half weeks' visit would be as fruitful,as influential and as comfortable as possible. The Board of Trade, led by its distinguished President, Sir David Eccles, Canada House, under the able and experienced leadership of George Drew, and particularly the Dollar Exports Council, led by its imaginative and indefatigable Chairman, my old friend and colleague, Sir William Rootes, planned our visit with a degree of organizational skill, of goodwill, of generosity and of enthusiasm which might perhaps have been duplicated in other lands but which could not have been improved upon anywhere.

It was an organizational feat of the very first magnitude to plan the activities of a party of fifty-seven people travelling for nearly a month throughout England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, visiting over one hundred different factories, holding almost daily press, radio and television conferences, gathering together at mammoth receptions, and attending daily luncheons and dinners at which there were between 125 and 750 people chosen from among the most influential and representative in the land.

The effectiveness with which it was carried out, and the precision with which the time-table was adhered to did much to establish in the minds of the members of our delegation a confidence in British efficiency and organizational ability that was heightened and broadened by the things which we saw as we progressed with our journey through Britain.

The Canadian Trade Mission had the opportunity not only of visiting a very large number of industries, both large and small, in many areas throughout the United Kingdom, but also of meeting the owners or representatives of hundreds of others and of discussing their problems with them.

We have been most favourably impressed with what we have seen and, broadly speaking, we have returned home with the feeling that British industry is showing leadership of a high order in scientific research, new technologies, and in the efficiency of its manufacturing practices.

We were impressed with the knowledge, ability and leadership of the senior personnel whom we met in the plants visited, from the foreman level upwards, with the spirit and progressiveness of top management, and particularly with the skill, artisanship and productivity of the workers. We have, I hope, laid to rest that perennial canard, so often repeated in North America, that British labour was not productive. From what we have seen, if the British worker is given similar tools to work with, his productivity is at least equal to that of the workers of Canada or the United States. I may also add that he works longer hours, the standard work week there being forty-eight hours as against forty hours on this continent.

The British manufacturer has now recovered from the gruelling experience of war and the restrictions and shortages of capital and raw materials which followed in its wake. That we are witnessing today an industrial resurgence in Britain is beyond doubt. Between 1953 and 1956, fixed investment in the manufacturing industries increased by 37% and it is interesting to note that although Britain's exports are currently seven times greater in value than before the war and double the pre-war volume, the whole pattern of her exports has been changing. The old standbys such as coal are replaced by a range of new industrial products to meet the requirements and advanced technologies of the more scientific world in which we live.

The Canadian trade delegation has satisfied itself that the United Kingdom is producing a large range of manufactured products suitable for this market and which we are presently importing from other sources, predominantly from the United States. We are confident that if we both work at the task, the United Kingdom can supply us with a much larger proportion of the products which we import.

There is obviously room for improvement. In 1956 our imports from the United States amounted to no less than $4,162,000,000, whereas those from the United Kingdom only reached a total of $485 million.

It might be well at this juncture to endeavour to clarify our thinking concerning the desirability from our national point of view of assisting the United Kingdom to obtain a larger share of our imports. I am suggesting that we should be quite clear on this because it answers a question so frequently asked, and particularly when it was first decided to send a trade mission to the United Kingdom, namely, "Why should we, the purchasers, go out of our way to help the United Kingdom sell us their goods?"

The answer has many facets, but one stands out among them all. We are endeavouring to assist the United Kingdom to obtain a larger share of our total imports because it is clearly in Canada's best interests that we should do so.

Sentiment plays no part in this policy. It is simply a matter of enlightened self-interest.

Let me hasten to deal with some of the factors which support this statement. I believe that you will agree with me that they clearly point to the desirability of closer trade relationships with the United Kingdom. I may note in passing that it was because I was convinced of this that I organized the Dollar Sterling Trade Council in 1949 with a view to implementing this closer relationship.

It was no doubt these same factors which the Right Honourable John Diefenbaker had in mind when, during his first visit to London after he became Prime Minister, he issued his stirring challenge to both our countries, calling upon us to work more closely together to ensure that Britain obtained a larger share of our total imports. It was these same factors which were the motivating force behind the Trade Mission, the most successful of its kind ever undertaken by Canada or welcomed by Great Britain.

In 1956 our imports from the United States amounted to $4,162,000,000, whereas we exported to that country only $2,879,000,000, leaving us with an adverse trade balance of staggering proportions. One of the troublesome factors about our imbalance with the United States is not only its size but the fact that is has been growing with alarming rapidity.

In 1950, when controls were removed, our imbalance was only $80 million. In 1955 it had jumped to $840 million, and in 1956 it had reached a figure of $1,283,000,000. This trade deficit is 45% greater than the United Kingdom's combined deficit with Canada and the United States.

I venture to suggest that such a situation cannot be allowed to continue.

While this is going on, the reverse situation prevails as regards our trading relationship with the United Kingdom, our second largest customer, upon whom many segments of our country depend, in particular the economy of the Western Provinces. Our purchases from Britain are so much less than our shipments to her that she is facing a trade imbalance with us. This results in her being obliged to curtail her purchases for the simple reason that she is not earning sufficient dollars to enable her to pay for more.

It is obvious therefore that it is in our country's best interests to try to bring our trade into better balance by buying more of our total imports from the United Kingdom, a policy which would ensure for us a larger export market to our traditional overseas customer.

There are those who are apprehensive lest by advocating these measures we are pursuing an anti-American policy which is not only unneighbourly but leaves us vulnerable to retaliation. I have discussed this matter with hundreds of Americans since the Dollar Sterling Trade Council first advocated buying a larger proportion of our imports from the United Kingdom, and I never met anyone who, with the facts before him, did not agree that what we were proposing was not only in our interest, but also in the interests of the United States.

The fact is that since we are by long odds the United States' largest customer, it is essential to them that we should remain economically sound. They recognize that we cannot do so if we continue to buy goods from the United States vastly in excess of our sales to them and if, at the same time, we allow exports to the United Kingdom to decline because of its adverse trade balance with us.

Let me stress here, because there is so much damaging misunderstanding on this important subject, that this imbalance of trade between the U.S.A. and ourselves and the massive inflow of American capital which has given rise to some anxiety in certain quarters is not the result of any national policy on the part of the American Government. Other than in certain matters of tariffs and quotas which at times we deplore, the American Government carries no responsibility for what is taking place.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that these situations are preponderantly the result of the individual choice of the citizens of the U.S.A. and Canada operating in a free economy, and where corrections are required they can only be satisfactorily applied by the voluntary action of the individuals of both nations.

This is fundamentally what our Trade Mission was all about. We recognized that our purchasing habits were becoming lopsided and we went over to the United Kingdom as free and independent individuals to see whether we could not assist in bringing a better balance into the trade relationship of our three countries, to the greater good of all concerned.

There is another segment of our population which expresses alarm lest a policy of stimulating imports from the United Kingdom be hurtful to our own producers and manufacturers. Speaking broadly, such fears are largely groundless. The objectives of the Dollar Sterling Trade Council and of the Trade Mission are not to encourage Britain to export goods to us which would be competitive with our own manufacturers, but, on the contrary, to stimulate their exporters to obtain a larger share of the goods which we import from other countries.

When one considers that our importations from the United States alone amounted in 1956 to approximately nine times those from the United Kingdom, it is obvious that there is plenty of room in which to manoeuvre without hurting our own producers. The motto of the Dollar Sterling Trade Council is "Buy Canadian if available, if not buy British, providing their goods are competitive in price, in quality and in deliveries."

To those few who claim, and perhaps with some justification, that they are actually being hurt by British imports the answer is that if it were not British imports which are hurting them, it would probably be imports from some other country. On the other hand, our prosperity, our living standards, our very Canadian way of life are dependent upon the volume of our exports, to a degree which is only comparable to the position of Great Britain herself. It would be quite unrealistic on our part to expect to continue as a great exporting nation and at the same time radically restrict imports. It could also be clearly demonstrated that the over-all benefits to our economy of a better-balanced trade and a larger and more assured outlet for our exports far outweigh any individual disadvantage which may show up here and there.

There is another reason why we Canadians should be anxious to increase our two-way trade with Britain, and that is the inadvisability, if we wish to retain our economic independence—(and I cannot think of anything which we want to do more than that)—of placing too many of our economic eggs in the same basket. With the United States supplying in 1956 73% of our imports, 69% of all the foreign capital for direct investment, and taking 59% of our exports, there is already quite a load for one basket.

There are other reasons which are perhaps less obvious to the casual observer, but nonetheless of major importance. I am referring to Canada's position as a senior member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and to the great future which lies ahead of this association of nations, the most successful experiment in living together in mutual respect, in harmony and goodwill which this troubled world has yet devised. But to be successful, to be influential, the Commonwealth must be strong economically. This can only be the case if Britain, the rallying point of this association, is economically sound and if the trading relations between her and the principal Commonwealth countries, among which Canada is the leader, are continually strengthened and developed.

I maintain, therefore, that the policies which the Dollar Sterling Trade Council are pursuing, and which have been greatly stimulated by our splendidly successful trade mission to the United Kingdom, are not only clearly in the best interests of Canada but in the best interests also of Great Britain and of the United States.

During our recent visit to Britain we gave our friends over there a great deal of advice concerning the steps which they should take to obtain a larger share of our imports, but there are many things which we also can do to encourage our fellow Canadians to co-operate in this task. We have no tools to work with other than those of persuasion and voluntary action but these are powerful tools if well handled and voluntary action on our part is far better than the alternative of import controls or higher tariffs.

And yet, if we are unable or unwilling to bring our trade into better balance by individual and voluntary action, then I greatly fear that other and less palatable methods will eventually have to be resorted to, because I do not believe that we can continue to run trade deficits with the United States on the present scale. But this would be the un-Canadian way of solving our problem, and I am hopeful that each one of us—from the largest commercial or industrial operators to the man, or woman, in the street—will discipline ourselves to buy more of those things which we are obliged to import, from United Kingdom sources.

To strengthen its endeavours and to follow up and capitalize upon the interest generated by the Canadian Trade Mission, the Dollar Sterling Trade Council, whose name, if acceptable to the present Council, will be changed to Canada-U.K. Trade Council, will be broadened and strengthened. Members of the Trade Mission, chosen for their geographic location and their broad representation of the economic life of this country, will join its Board, bringing with them the added strength of their experience, their enthusiasm and their determination to assist Britain in obtaining a larger share of our total imports.

In closing, let me say that we have every confidence that with these measures and the intelligent understanding and co-operation of the Canadian people, we are entering a period of greater activity in the trade relations between our two countries. By promoting a greater diversity in our trade pattern, we will be taking an important step not only towards ensuring our economic stability but towards the reversal of a tendency, which, if not corrected, will undoubtedly become a hazard to our economic independence—and no Canadian worthy of his great inheritance would want to see this happen.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Henry E. Langford, President of The Canadian Club.

"DOLLARS AND SENSE"

An Address by

THE HONOURABLE DONALD M. FLEMING,
P.C., Q.C., M.P., B.A. LL.B.

Thursday, February 13th, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. W. H. MONTAGUE: Today's guest speaker—The Hon. Donald M. Fleming, P.C., Q.C., M.P., B.A., LL.B., Minister of Finance and Receiver-General of Canada—honours us greatly by his presence here in his official capacities but, as we think of him first as a highly respected Torontonian, a long time fellow member of the Club, and a former member of our Executive Committee, I am sure you would want me to express to him a very warm "Welcome home" from all of us and, as we are not overly accustomed to federal cabinet ministers from these parts, to ask him to pardon us if we find somewhat difficult to draw a line between his personal and his high political identities.

Born in Exeter, Ontario, of Irish, Scottish, French and English ancestry—he received his early education in Galt, where his father taught mathematics at Galt Collegiate Institute and from which he graduated, at 16, after winning the first Carter Scholarship for Waterloo County. He came to Toronto that same year, 1921, as a student in Arts at University of Toronto. He won the Alexander MacKenzie Scholarship in Political Science in both his second and third years, thus establishing two more "firsts".

He graduated in Arts in 1925 as a winner of the highest award in that faculty, namely the Governor-General's

Gold Medal for General Proficiency, and he was also awarded the Breuls Gold Medal for Political Science.

Mr. Fleming then enrolled at Osgoode Hall Law School and after winning two more scholarships, in 1926 and 1927 respectively, graduated from there in 1928 with the Silver Medal and the Christopher Robinson Memorial Scholarship.

Called to the Bar on 21st June 1928, he entered the practice of law here in Toronto and found time and energy to also secure his degree as Bachelor of Laws from U. of T. He was called to the Inner Bar as a King's Counsel in 1944. It is worthy of note that Mr. Fleming was called to the Bar on 21st June, 1928, and exactly 29 years later, on 21st June, 1957, was sworn as one of Her Majesty's Privy Council for Canada, Minister of Finance and Receiver-General of Canada.

Since his entry upon the Toronto scene in 1921 he has acquired an enviable reputation as a brilliant student, an eminent lawyer, an outstanding leader in community welfare, an ardent and practising churchman and as a rising and thoroughly experienced politician of great integrity. That he is highly regarded by electors in his home constituency of Toronto-Eglinton is best evidenced by the record majorities by which he was elected in 1945 and re-elected in 1949, 1953 and 1957.

He served an apprenticeship here in the municipal field as a school trustee in 1938, and then as Alderman for Ward 9, from 1938 to 1944. During this period he was Chairman of the Civic Property Committee, the Civic Works Committee and the Public Welfare Committee. For three years he served on the City Planning Board and for one year he was a Director of the C.N.E.

As a Member of the House of Commons, Mr. Fleming was a Canadian delegate to three Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences; the first was held at London, England, in 1948, and following it he made an extensive tour in Western Europe, including both sections of Berlin; the second was at Ottawa in 1952, and the third took place at Nairobi, Kenya, in 1954, when he extended his trip to include East, Central and South Africa and Egypt—totalling over 30,000 miles in two months.

In 1952 Mr. Fleming privately visited England, Germany and France; in 1953 he attended the Coronation of Her Majesty in Westminster and, in that same year, was decorated with the Greek Red Cross Medal by King Paul of Greece.

In December 1957, he was a Cabinet delegate to the NATO Summit Conference in Paris, France. He surely qualifies as a Canadian who has been places and participated in important events.

He will address us now on the subject, "Dollars and Sense".

Gentlemen: The Honourable Donald M. Fleming, Minister of Finance and Receiver-General of Canada.

HON. DONALD M. FLEMING: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: You will forgive me if I say to you that it warms my heart very much to be here in the midst of so many friends today in this Club, of which I have had the honour of being a member for many years. I do thank you most warmly, Mr. President, for an introduction, extraordinary in its generosity. I can't tell you how much it means to be received thus, after all among those who know me best.

You have been kind enough to introduce me by the more respectable of my present offices, and thereby hangs a tale, a tale which no doubt some of you have heard me tell before, but I am going to run the risk of repetition.

It was on the fateful 21st day of June 1957, that a group of perhaps mildly excited inividuals, including one lady, found themselves at the door of Government House in Ottawa. As they entered the portals, sheets were handed to them containing the roster of officers in the new government who were to be sworn into office, and the first one read: John G. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister, Secretary of the Council . . . Donald M. Fleming, Minister of Finance and Receiver-General of Canada. It didn't make any impression on me at the time, but it was in the course of the day, perhaps when opportunity had come for some quieter thoughts, that the thought struck me as a flash: Receiver-General of Canada—that is the bloke in whose favour I have been writing cheques all these years, and I have hated him every time I did it, and now I am it! My blood chilled in my veins at the thought.

I scarcely know how to begin, Mr. President. If I would not be thought immodest or seeming to compare myself to the gentleman in question, I think I might recall a story that goes back some years, a generation ago, the first time that Ramsay MacDonald paid a visit to this hotel, and I think the Canadian Club, in his capacity as Leader of the Opposition. The following year he returned as Prime Minister and he opened his remarks in these words, as I recall them: Mr. President, a year ago I came before you as The Minister of the Congregation, today I appear before you as the Moderator of the General Assembly.

Mr. President, I am no Moderator of the General Assembly but perhaps that gives me an opportunity to say to you how much it means to me to have present here today the Very Reverend Dr. George Pidgeon, to whom I have looked as a spiritual father ever since I became one of his spiritual sons at the age of sixteen.

It is a privilege to address my fellow members of the Empire Club.

I think I should in fairness point out that our President's invitation was extended to me some months ago under somewhat, shall I say, more settled political conditions than now prevail. I should like you to know that following the dissolution of Parliament and the calling of a general election I immediately assured the President that the Club should feel entirely at liberty to withdraw the invitation. The President, I think knowing that I am well aware of the rule that speeches to the Empire Club are of a strictly non-partisan nature, chose however to renew the invitation and I am happy to be here among my fellow members. My remarks today, I do not need to say, will be strictly of a non-partisan nature. Indeed, I shall endeavour to disarm even suspicions in that regard. The march of recent events is bound to restrict seriously one's freedom in that respect.

Had I been addessing you a fortnight ago I might for instance have been disposed to at least mention, if not discuss, such subjects as taxes. I understand that that has now become a political word. If by any possible chance, that dread word should escape my lips today, I can only hope that you in your charity will condone the slip and realize that I employ the word strictly in its non-political sense, if any.

The title of my remarks is "Dollars and Sense". Since I was sworn in as Minister of Finance seven and a half months ago much of my waking time has been necessarily absorbed with figures, mostly, I sometimes regret to say, large figures—figures preceded by dollar marks. If I were a worrier I suppose I would have been haunted by dreams—dreams of figures of astronomical proportions, all preceded by the magic sign of the Canadian dollar. I may assure you, however, that I have had no such experience.

No matter how we may seek to escape the domination of material things, dollars remain one of the most important tools of govenmental policy and they must be an ever-present concern of a Minister of Finance. Dollars somehow take on some human characteristics. In their behaviour they can be moody and capricious, even as temperamental as a House of Commons. At times they can be responsive to effort and to law; at other times they can be elusive and contrary. If the dollar has a motto it must surely be "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity": liberty, because dollars do their best work when they are free to circulate without rigid and arbitrary restriction; equality, because every dollar, that is every Canadian dollar, is equal to every other Canadian dollar; and fraternity, because the dollar is a gregarious creature; it likes company and is unhappy in solitude. However, you have had enough, I am sure, of this abstract philosophy, which is usually considered unworthy of a politician.

I have included the word "sense" in my title. I refer, of course, to common sense, good judgment, even it may be, wisdom. Good sense has a leading part to play in the stages of the life of the dollar: its creation, its working years, as it is gathered, collected and spent and in determining its lifetime usefulness, whether it remains strong or is weakened and enfeebled by short-sighted and inflationary forces. Good sense in what they do in the acquiring, spending and saving of dollars is important enough in the lives of individuals. It is equally important for nations and governments.

"Avoid situations that worry you" is the advice I heard on a recent radio programme sponsored by a well-known life insurance company urging careful attention to the laws of health. Do we not all wish that we could be free to follow such simple advice? However, I am well aware that no speech on an economic subject is held to have any value nowadays unless the speaker embarks upon the treacherous seas of prophecy. We are all so anxious to know what is going to happen tomorrow, next month or next year, it is small wonder that news of what happened yesterday is so often far less interesting and exciting to writer and reader alike than speculation as to what is likely to happen tomorrow, next month . . . and when I say next month I am not all together funny . . . or next year.

Within limits, however, I shall endeavour to resist the temptation to assume the role of prophet and to content myself today with seeking to apply to known and established economic facts of today what may be regarded as common sense. In so doing, I make it clear that I believe that governments should be guided by common sense. I have more faith in it than in magic or shortcuts or panaceas or the practice of cutting corners.

Economic problems have undergone a material change, at least in emphasis, in recent months. Last summer I was receiving more letters and pleas for action and advice concerning the premium on the Canadian dollar than on perhaps any other subject. A 6 per cent premium was indeed a very heavy handicap for our exporters and the tourist industry to bear. The premium, now running at approximately a cent and a half has ceased to be a major or urgent problem. I shall say only that I glad that we did not take some of the drastic and far-reaching courses of action that in some quarters, however well meaning, we were asked to take in this regard last summer.

What of Canada's economic position and outlook? 1957 has been a good year for Canada. Indeed, it has established some remarkable records. Canada's growth is an undeniable fact and an irresistible force. In 1957, 465,000 Canadian babies were born. This is by far an all-time record. In 1957, 282,164 immigrants entered Canada—the highest figure since the record year 1913 and double the post-war average. Canada's population this year will pass the 17 million mark. Our labour force is the largest in all our history—6 million people. In 1957 that labour force showed a 4 per cent increase, as compared with the average rate of increase in the five previous years of 1.9 per cent. We have more persons employed in Canada today than have ever before been employed at this time in Canada's history. Labour income in Canada in 1957 established an all-time record. In the first eleven months of the year—we haven't the figures complete—it exceeded $14 billion and showed an increase of 8 per cent over the same period in 1956. When the full figures for 1957 are available they will undoubtedly show that labour income exceeded $15 billion—an all-time record.

Over-all personal income in the first nine months of 1957 increased by nearly 7 per cent compared with the previous year. Consumer prices between these two periods rose by more than 3 per cent. Accordingly, real purchasing power was higher by about 3 per cent and on a per capita basis almost held even. Most of this change was reflected in spending on consumer items, particularly services, food and other goods. Outlays for durable items, as a group, changed little compared with the previous year. Consumer credit, which had risen markedly in preceding years, showed little further increase during 1957. Personal saving in all forms rose moderately.

Similarly, our export trade in 1957 reached an all-time record. Our gross national product in 1957 likewise achieved a new record, exceeding the 1956 record by approximately $1 billion. Capital investment in 1957 was the highest in Canada's history, exceeding the 1956 record by approximately 8 per cent. These records were achieved in spite of monetary restrictions and increasing unemployment at the year-end. As we enter 1958, as compared with conditions a year ago, money is today more plentiful, credit is somewhat easier and interest rates are substantially lower.

Confidence plays a role of vital importance in the economy of a free society. Psychological factors exercise a very strong influence in stimulating or retarding the momentum of a dynamic economy. Given confidence we can be assured of a wholesome prosperity. If we heed the voices of the timid, the skeptic and those whose personal interest lies in magnifying unfavourable factors we can create a synthetic setback for Canada's growth. Canadians are not a mercurial people. Their feet are planted firmly on the ground. Happily, in that way they avoid the extremes of exaltation and abasement. I would not be pleading for confidence on any other basis than reality. Canadians, I believe can justify their confidence by the facts, and may I give you a few of them.

The response to new issues of Government bonds has been most gratifying. It has reflected confidence in Government credit as well as strength in the market. On September 12th the Government, faced with maturities of the same amount offered two short term issues aggregating $700 million. Both were immediately over-subscribed. On November 28th, faced with a maturity of $250 million the Government offered two more short term issues aggregating $650 million. Both were immediately over-subscribed. The Twelfth Canada Savings Bond campaign was inaugurated in October and achieved a record response. The offering was discontinued at December 31st. By that time a record of gross sales of $1,175 million had been achieved, vastly exceeding the amount realized on any previous issue.

In January the market was again tested, this time with an issue of $300 million of Canadian National Railway Bonds bearing a Government guarantee. It is the largest issue of C.N.R. Bonds ever offered, and the first in a period of three years. It was the first offering of Dominion Government securities in the long term field for some time. The issue was immediately and heavily over-subscribed. These gratifying responses demonstrate, I think, the strength of the Bond market and the confidence of Canadians in their own country and its credit.

One of the factors in the present situation that we must look upon realistically, and I hope courageously, is unemployment. Expressed as a percentage of our labour force we now have more unemployment than at any time since three years ago. Normal seasonal unemployment, aggravated by a curtailment of markets for our forest products and base metals in particular, and the swiftest rate of increase in the Canadian labour force in all our history, must be a matter of concern to all Canadians, whether as individuals or as citizens deciding the course of governmental policy at the municipal, provincial or federal level.

The first duty we owe ourselves is to assess the true extent of the problem. The welkin is being made to ring with the figures of unemployment insurance registrations. These are not the accurate measure of actual unemployment. The unemployment insurance registrations have been actually swollen by legislation. This year's figures reflect the inclusion of fishermen, married women's benefits, and the lengthening of the period of seasonal benefits, all as a result of recent legislation. The most accurate statistical record of unemployment in Canada is issued by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and it is based upon a sampling of conditions in all parts of Canada. The latest issue showed that at mid-December there were 386,000 unemployed in Canada. So far as subsequent trends are concerned, it is worthy of mention that the rate of applications for unemployment insurance has declined recently as compared with the trend observable a year ago.

Unemployment even in these proportions must be a matter of concern to us all. The social as well as the economic consequences of unemployment are, I am sure, not far from the minds of any of us. There are measures which Governments and individuals can take to assist in combatting unemployment. Now is the time when the jobs are needed. There are many individuals who with a little thought can create jobs now. Perhaps it is only habit that leads us to postpone so many odd jobs of work until the spring. The winter-work appeal of the Federal Department of Labour has received an excellent response. Its motto is "Why Wait Till Spring?" I commend it to you. There are those who say that the Prime Minister derived some inspiration from that motto.

There is much also that Government can do to assist in meeting an immediate problem of unemployment, particularly if they have sufficient warning of it. There is the opportunity for direct creation of work through construction programmes. This opportunity is open to all levels of government. The municipalities are a very fertile source of employment of this kind, and work provided at the municipal level has the advantage of providing it where it is needed, without uprooting those for whom the work is created. The provinces likewise have open to them a wide field of very useful public investment in the construction of highways, bridges and useful public works which will at the same time create a large volume of employment. The terms upon which all levels of government are able to borrow have eased greatly in the last six months. Money is more plentiful and interest rates on new borrowings are substantially lower. Parliament has approved the Government's programme of placing at the disposal of the Provinces additional fiscal payments this year estimated at $82 million. It is expected that this aid will soon reflect itself in works programmes of the provincial and municipal governments.

This is not the time for me to speak of the Dominion Government's plans in this regard. There will be other occasions and other platforms where that may be done. I will be glad to furnish all interested with a list and a very hearty invitation. Let me, however, say in a word that the emphasis is placed upon programmes of a capital nature, and not in enlarging expenditures of a current nature.

All levels of government can use the present situation to their own and the national advantage of undertaking development programmes. At the federal level this situation in particular affords a ripe opportunity for the inauguration in partnership with the provinces of plans for national development of our resources.

Before I leave this subject of capital expenditure by governments, however, let me stress the importance of private investment. Capital outlays by governments are not intended to replace private investment, but to encourage and supplement it to give it more confidence. The productivity of the economy will be increased by useful expenditures of a capital nature, whether from public or private sources.

Now, I turn to the sometimes vexed question of fiscal and monetary policy and what has been called "tight money". Even in a free society Governments exert a strong influence on the economy. It is so in this country. At the federal level fiscal policy and monetary policy have a very influential bearing upon the tone, the strength and the trend of the economy.

In the fiscal realm a Government whose expenditures amount in all forms to $100 million per week, undeniably by that fact alone, plays a very important role in the play of economic forces. It is gathering and spending approximately 18 per cent of the gross national product. I have already spoken of governmental participation in capital investment.

I should like, however, to make reference to the subject of monetary policy, especially as it affects money supply, credit and the cost of borrowing. These are all matters of the liveliest concern to Canadian business and finance. Monetary control in Canada has been largely vested by Parliament in the Bank of Canada. It has the sole right to issue notes and it possesses wide and clearly defined powers in relation to money supply. The preamble of the Bank of Canada Act assumes that the Bank is "to regulate credit and currency in the best interests of the economic life of a nation, to control and protect the external value of the national monetary unit and to mitigate by its influence fluctuations in the general level of production, trade, prices and employment, so far as may be possible within the scope of monetary action, and generally to protect the economic and financial welfare of the Dominion". This is a high responsibility to place upon any institution.

In 1955 a policy which has come to be known as the "tight money policy" was put in force. It contemplated that the chartered banks would discontinue the practice of making term loans, that is, those not repayable within one year, and would adopt as an operating principle a monthly average liquidity ratio of not less than 18 per cent of deposits.

In the same year the Bank of Canada raised its discount rate on three occasions. In 1956 it raised it on three more occasions and in November of that year announced a new practice of figuring the bank rate each week at ¼ of 1 per cent above that week's average Treasury Bill tender rate. Interest rates moved to a peak in August 1957, when the Treasury Bill rate reached a high of 4.08 per cent. Money supply, which had been expanded in 1954, a year, may I remind you, of mild recession, by $779 million, or 8 per cent, and by $857 million, or 8.6 per cent in 1955, and by $318 million, or 2.9 per cent in 1956, was expanded by only $227 million, or 2 per cent in 1957.

The so-called "tight money policy" was introduced with a view to combatting the pressures of inflation. An eminent Canadian banker said two years ago:

"Experience shows that monetary policy is more effective against inflation than against deflation. But there are dangers. As I have already pointed out, the policy may go too far. It may also be unselective, curbing healthy as well as unhealthy or excessive bank credit."

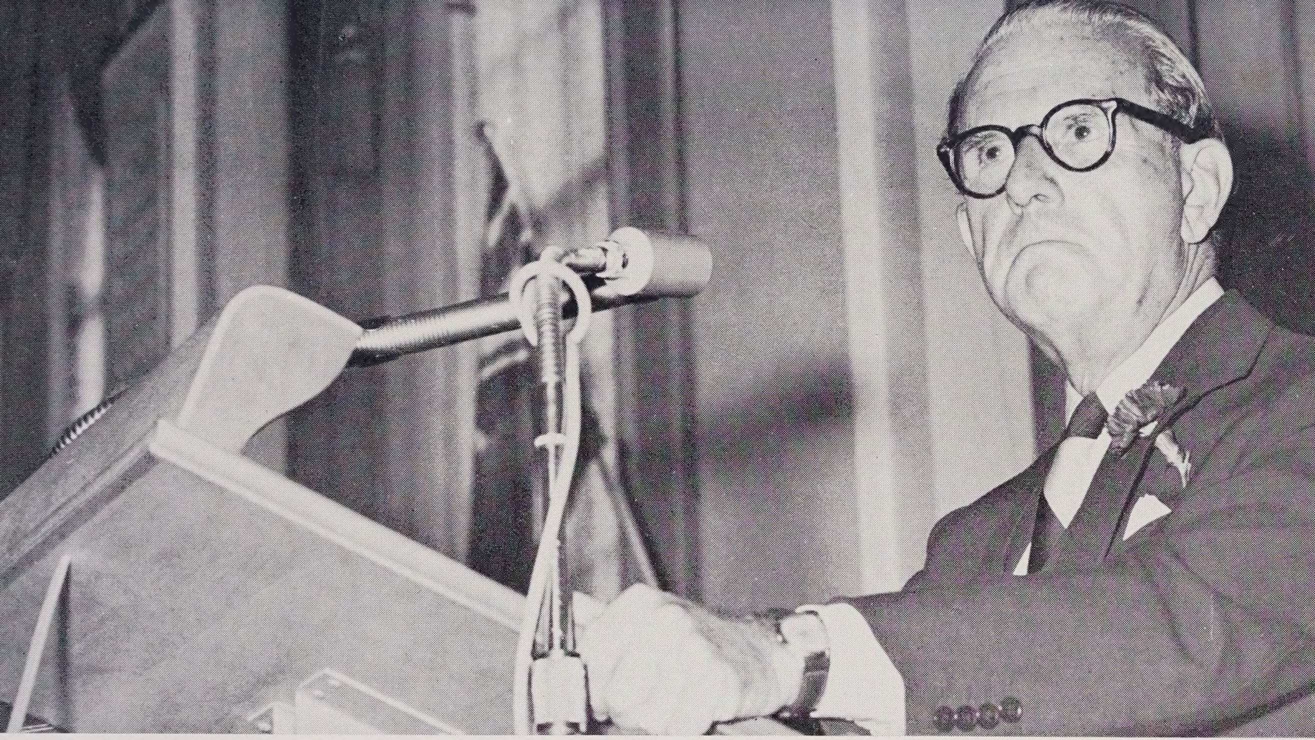
Economic conditions influenced by the tight money policy have been changed considerably in recent months and with them I find that thinking in the United States has changed. In September, when I was in Washington attending the Annual Meeting of the Governors of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund and conferred there with officials of the Federal Reserve System, the emphasis was still heavily laid upon the dangers of inflation. Since that time the leading Federal Reserve Banks in the United States have reduced their interest rates several times. Whatever may have been said for the tight money policy in 1955 and 1956, it is evident that it does not fit the needs of 1958, and I am glad to report that so far as we could we have moved some distance away from it. Money is more plentiful, credit is somewhat easier and interest rates have been reduced to a remarkable extent in recent months. From the peak Treasury Bill rate of 4.08 per cent in August it dropped to a new low last week of 2.99 per cent. The market for new issues of Government bonds, as I mentioned, has been very strong. The tight money policy has been the subject of particular complaint by the provinces and municipalities and small business.

In one field in which the Government was free to take direct action to mitigate the tight money policy action has been taken. The construction industry had felt severely the effects of tight money. In the spring of 1957 the policy itself was modified by the Bank of Canada by the creation of between $12 and $13 million of new cash reserves. With this backing the chartered banks made direct loans throughout the year in the aggregate value of $150 million on National Housing Act mortgages. In further relaxation of the policy an additional $300 million was provided, first of all at the end of summer and again in late fall, for the same purpose on direct Government account. This time no additional cash reserves were created by the Bank of Canada. The action was a case of direct Government intervention.

A further sensible relaxation in the tight money policy would undoubtedly have a stimulating effect on the economy and be of particular assistance now to small business. A greater measure of flexibility in the policy would undoubtedly mitigate and have mitigated some of the stresses and strains which have been associated with it.

Now, I turn to the subject of Trade. External trade is a factor of high importance in relation to the Canadian economy. Our exports and imports combined represent approximately one-third of the Canadian gross national product. Our exports have been running approximately 16 per cent of the gross national product. The retention and expansion of our markets abroad must be a principal aim of Government Policy.

Canada's trade in the post-war years has been flowing to an increasing degree in one channel, to and from the United States. Of our imports 73 per cent in recent years have been coming from the United States and 60 per cent of all our exports have been going to that country, with the result that two-thirds of our total external trade is



James S. Duncan Meeting, February 6th, 1958.

Hon. Donald M. Fleming Meeting, February 13th, 1958.

being done in one channel. The consequence is that the Canadian economy has been exposed to a very uncomfortable degree to changes in the economic climate and trading policy at Washington.

Moreover, in our trade with the world we have been sustaining a heavy deficit. In 1956 it aggregated $848 million. It will be somewhat less in 1957. In our commodity trade with the United States we incurred in 1956 a deficit of $1-¼ billion. This figure will be somewhat reduced in 1957, but is still expected to amount to a billion dollars.

These and other factors have stimulated the desire to expand Canada's trade with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth. No arbitrary or forceful measures have been taken, and none are contemplated, but there is ample reason to encourage a policy which will help the United Kingdom to earn more dollars wherewith she may be able to purchase more of our agricultural products as well as Canadian finished goods. There has been no thought of transferring abroad purchases of goods produced by Canadians.

The Mont Tremblant Conference last September marked the first time that a meeting of the Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth has been held on Canadian soil. It was an outstanding success. Unanimous agreement was reached on the part of the Ministers to recommend the holding of a Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference in 1958. A preparatory meeting at the official level is proceeding in London this week and I am happy to announce to you that the countries of the Commonwealth have now accepted the invitation of the Canadian Government to hold a plenary Trade and Economic Conference in Canada this year. It is expected that the Conference will commence in September. This Conference offers hope of fruitful results that will give new significance to the Commonwealth relationship and contribute also to the strengthening of the Canadian economy, particularly in the field of primary production.

Now, I should like to say a word about Canadian-United States relations. Concern has been expressed of late in certain quarters in regard to relations between

Canada and the United States. There is always danger that differences of viewpoint even among the best of friends may be exaggerated in the course of public discussion. The relationships between Canada and the United States are the closest existing between any two neighbour countries in the world and they will always so continue. In our defence, in our plans for common survival, we have linked our forces, our friendship and our efforts. We should rejoice that our friendship is so strong and enduring that we can discuss our differences frankly and without any fear of jeopardizing our relations.

I have referred to the extent to which as the result of the channeling of so much of our trade in that direction the Canadian economy has been exposed to changes in the economic climate and trade policy in the United States. I have mentioned also the heavy imbalance in the commodity trade with that country. Canadians have been buying almost $3.00 worth of goods for every $2.00 that the United States purchases from us. It would be unrealistic ever to expect a complete balance in our trade with any country or indeed, with all countries, but Canadians are concerned over the fact that the United States is buying so much less from us than we buy from her, and that the United States tariff is designed to increase the difficulties in selling Canadian products in the United States market.

Moreover, the agricultural surplus disposal policies followed by the United States have greatly damaged Canadian trading interests abroad. We have made repeated representations to the administration at Washington over the damage done to Canada's overseas marketing of our wheat in particular by the disposal methods followed by the United States.

Now we are faced with the prospect of tariffs being raised against Canadian exports of zinc and lead and possibly beef cattle. Canadian oil exports to the United States have been restricted by Washington in the face of agreements entered into years ago and still in effect, linking the common defence of these two countries.

It is the hope of all Canadians that their earnest representations will be heeded in Washington and that regard will be had for Canada's interests when the overwhelming advantage in the trading relations between these two countries undeniably rests with the United States.

Now, will you forgive me for taking advantage of the opportunity to address this audience which includes so many business men, to make a few comments. My experience of the past seven and a half months has been reassuring in many respects and for that I am deeply grateful, but disturbing in one. I confess to you that I do feel disturbed at the tendency of many people to lean upon Government, to rush to the Government for a quick, ready-made and, above all, painless solution of their problems. I wish I could say to you that the business community has been immune from this tendency, but I cannot. Will you permit me then to say that I think the Canadian businessman can set an example, if he will, by standing on his own feet.

This subject also has its lighter side, of course. I mentioned last summer when some good people were asking me to wave a wand and restore the Canadian dollar to parity. Some of the requests that come to my desk reflect an almost sublime faith in the power of government. I have been asked to control the fluctuations on the stock market. That is one I won't be trying. Numerous individuals write to me requesting personal loans. After all, so they apparently reason, what is a Minister of Finance for anyway? Some individuals write to me to ask for income tax exemptions for themselves alone on personal grounds. "Please give me some assurance that the business world is going to pick up" was the request I received recently from another correspondent.

How should we sum it up, then? The productive capacity of Canada, like that of the United States and other Western nations, has been enormously enlarged in recent years. It has for the moment overtaken consumption in both domestic and export fields. In this situation Canadians at every stage in the producing and marketing stream need to exert themselves to retain and expand every market and every advantage open to them. Competition has grown keener. The times put a premium on efficiency. Boom days and lush times do not breed efficiency, and some consequent stresses are appearing now in some parts of the economy. Canadians now supremely need to be efficient, economical producers and aggressive, effective salesmen. This is not the time for any of us, whether employer or employees, to seek to take from the economy more than we are contributing to it in the form of increased productivity.

You will permit a digression. It is certainly no time to be resting on our oars or discarding those ancient Canadian virtues which are just as valid in my humble view as ever they were—the virtues of thrift and hard work. It is no time for any of us to be lax.

Mr. Justice MacGillivray, who among his other accomplishments is the President of the St. Andrew's Society, will I am sure forgive me for recalling the prayer uttered not long ago by the Chaplain on the reunion of a famous Scottish Clan. It ran somewhat to this effect:

"Enable us, Oh Lord, we beseech Thee, if it be possible, to be worthy of the high esteem in which we so rightly hold ourselves."

Mr. President, and Gentlemen, I have sought to take a realistic, balanced view of the forces at work in the Canadian economy today. We have difficulties; we also have much to be thankful for. I believe that we can with confidence in ourselves confront and overcome the difficulties. The long-term future of this country is dazzlingly bright and I do not speak merely of a distant future. This is a land teeming with resources. New wealth is being discovered every day—discovered by those who have courage and enterprise and who are prepared to take risks. Our people are intelligent, vigorous and determined. The future is Canada's. It is a future not to be exchanged for that of any other country the wide world over.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. John W. Griffin, a Past President of the Empire Club of Canada.

"INFLATION
VS.
UNEMPLOYMENT"

An Address by

THE HONOURABLE PAUL T. HELLYER, P.C.,
President, Curran Hall Limited, Toronto

Thursday, February 20th, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: Seldom is it our privilege to be addressed by a guest speaker who, by all the laws of normal expectancy, still has the greater portion of his career ahead of him. Usually we listen to those who are either at, approaching or just past the peak of their potential.

Consequently, it is with great pleasure that we welcome our fellow club member The Hon. Paul T. Hellyer, P.C., B.A., who—before his 34th birthday—was sworn of Her Majesty's Privy Council for Canada and Associate Minister of National Defence.

Mr. Hellyer was born on a farm near Waterford, Ontario, and, after his high school years there, enrolled at the Curtiss-Wright Technical Institute of Aeronautics in Glendale, California, from which he graduated in aeronautical engineering in 1941 before his 18th birthday.

His services were quickly snapped up by Fleet Aircraft Ltd. of Fort Erie, where he progressed from junior draughtsman to group leader in engineering on the Cornell elementary trainers being supplied to the R.C.A.F.

On the strength of the private pilot's license he had obtained while in California, Mr. Hellyer joined the

R.C.A.F., but its need for pilots ended before he had earned his wings so he promptly left to serve with the Royal Canadian Artillery until war's end.

Coming to Toronto on demobilization, he purchased a ladies' ready-to-wear business and enrolled at the University of Toronto from which he obtained his B.A. in 1949. He operated his shop until the building in which it was located changed hands in 1956.

Mr. Hellyer is now President of Curran Hall Limited, home builders, and of Trepil Realty Limited, a land development company.

In 1949, he entered politics as a Liberal candidate and was elected to the House of Commons as the Member for Toronto Davenport. He was re-elected in 1953 and defeated in 1957.

February, 1956, before his 33rd birthday, saw him appointed Parliamentary Assistant to The Hon. Ralph Campney, Minister of National Defence, and in April, 1957, he became Associate Minister, just eight weeks before The Right Hon. Mr. St. Laurent resigned as Prime Minister.

Somewhere along the line Mr. Hellyer has found the time and energy to study voice at the Toronto Conservatory; to attend the Banff School of Fine Arts and to participate in operas produced there. He continues to sing as a member of the Westmoreland United Church choir.

To-day he will present his views on—"Inflation vs. Unemployment".

Gentlemen: The Hon. Paul T. Hellyer.

MR. HELLYER: I am honoured to have the opportunity to address the Empire Club. Last week you had a Minister of the Crown with you, and I understand that next week you will have another. In view of this, it is particularly gratifying that to-day you cheerfully came to listen to one of the unemployed.

Karl Marx said that inherent in the capitalist system was the seed of its own destruction. The influence of his writings has been so great that the Communist bloc of nations now poses a real threat to our national survival. It is true that our collective military strength has been a deterrent to communist aggression. It is equally true—now that both sides possess the means of mass annihilation—that military might alone will not solve our problems or protect us from encirclement. Our strength or weakness will depend on our success or failure to attract the loyalty and devotion of men at home and in the uncommitted nations. Our military strength has bought us time—expensive and precious time; time to examine the weaknesses in our private enterprise system and to make corrections—corrections needed to make the system more workable and more attractive to all.

The inference that our sytem is still far from perfect should not be regarded as heresy. Like Topsy, it just grew, and was not designed to cope with the almost unbelievable changes in society and technology. Like other things that just grow, a little judicious pruning and trimming can make it more productive.

Since the industrial revolution, we have been plagued with periodic recessions and depressions, described as the "lows" of the business cycle. It should be made perfectly clear that these recessions, unlike famines, are not Acts of God, but simply attributable to the folly and inflexibility of man. It is positively encouraging that more progress has been made toward the solution of this problem during the last twenty-five years than in the previous century.

Perhaps the greatest single step forward has been the introduction in most western countries of a central bank. The Bank of Canada, established in 1934 as a private institution and later nationalized, has exercised and incalculable influence on our wartime and post-war financial operations. In the Bank of Canada Act, Parliament gave the bank responsibility for exercising its infleunce in such a way as to maintain—in so far as may be possible within the scope of monetary action—both the purchasing power of the Canadian currency, and at the same time a high level of employment. This dual responsibility is not always contradictory. It is now obvious, however, that, under certain circumstances, the antidote for one may be the poison of the other.

Schools of thought emerge. There is a body of thought which believes that maintaining the purchasing power of money is of paramount importance, and must be achieved, even at the expense of putting up with something less than full employment.

Another school takes a different viewpoint, suggesting that full employment must be maintained at all times. even at the expense of "creeping inflation". Some of this group would tie social service payments, pensions, and even bond interest and principal, to the cost-of-living index, thereby creating an incredibly complex and administratively impossible set of circumstances.

A much smaller, but none the less important group believes that either continuous inflation, even of the "creeping" variety, or continuous unemployment beyond the seasonal and frictional types, could prove disastrous, and that, if our system is to survive and command confidence, we must avoid both.

In approaching the problems from this direction, we must consider both the short term and longer term prospects. A brief review of developments since 1954 may help to illustrate. During the winter 1954-55 we experienced considerably more unemployment than usual in the post-war period, and the alleviation of that unemployment became the immediate and urgent task at hand. A sharp, widespread tax cut was used as the mechanics recognized by most economists as the fastest, most effective, and most equitable way of infusing new purchasing power and new life into a sagging economy. At the same time, the Bank of Canada increased the money supply considerably, which not only made money more readily available, but also, because of the greater supply, caused interest rates to fall, thereby encouraging public and private investment.

The result of this parallel and complementary fiscal and monetary action, together with external demand for our primary products, was an early and sharp increase in economic activity, and a corresponding decrease in unemployment. The trickle developed into a torrent, and eventually there were indications of economic fever. Too much was happening too fast!

I would like at this time to emphasize that use of monetary and fiscal measures to help iron out economic fluctuations is still in its early and experimental stages. There are many theories, but, unfortunately, they cannot be proven or disproven in the controlled atmosphere of a laboratory. The experiments are being performed in a real society, and in real circumstances. Consequently, we must be patient, and accept mistakes as inevitable mileposts on the road to real achievement.

Perhaps, if we could relive the last four years, our central banks might increase the money supply more moderately in the early stages, and, consequently, have less restraint to exercise in subsequent years.

Now, just as some people thought the Central Bank was a little late in applying restraint in 1955, some argue that it was a little late in easing up its restraint in 1957. It is most difficult to say, with any authority, just when action should be taken, and to what extent. As I said earlier, experience is being gained on the basis of trial and error.

There is, however, an important time lag which must be taken into consideration. Action taken by the Central Bank is made effective through our chartered banking system and its many branches all across the country. Our chartered banks have an outstanding reputation for performing many useful and necessary services. The system was not, however, designed as a broad economic influence to mitigate cycles, and yet that is what it must become in addition to its historic role. Some bankers have been reluctant to assume this new role, and do so with reservation. All are more than anxious to co-operate in the common interest if they are convinced of the goal and familiar with the mechanics for reaching it. The time lag, which is quite significant, persists. It is being shortened as the banking system is streamlined, and made more responsive in its new and vital function.

Whether or not the central bank should have allowed the money supply to increase more than it did in 1957 is a matter of opinion. It is worth noting that, for the last half of the year, its policy was at right angles to governmental fiscal policy, and it is only since the turn of the year that we have seen the two tend again toward parallel.

It may well be that some officials of central banks feel that inflation is till a real problem, and that the only control is to make it difficult, if not impossible, for employers to pass wage increases on to their customers.

The average of weekly wages and salaries in Canadian industry rose from $64.18 in 1956 to $67.70 in 1957, an increase of 5.5%. During the same period industrial production fell .1%, while employment in manufacturing increased by .8%. Marry the two and you have a drop in output per man employed of .9%.

Now, I don't like using averages, and, whenever I do, I think of Mr. Justice Abbott's old story about the man who drowned crossing a river of average depth of four inches. Sometimes, however, averages are both useful and necessary by way of illustration, and surely the ones I have just quoted are worthy of note.

Last year was not typical, however, because usually there is an increase in output. When there is an increase it can be divided in an infinite number of ways. Part of it might be made available to government to meet increasing demands for social security payments and necessary public services. Part could be used to decrease our dependency on foreign capital; and part can be used for real wage increases which can be either saved or spent by the recipient. There are an infinite variety of ways in which the pie can be divided, but the important point is that there is only one pie. What is real can be divided. What is non-existant cannot be. If *it* is dispersed, it is a counterfeit dispersal, an inflationary fraud.

It is unfortunate that politicians appear to be inherently afraid of trade unionists. There is no need to fear working men. They are about the most sensible people you can talk with if you have time to talk with them. Some of us are guilty of sins of omission. I am convinced that the average working man would prefer a small increase in real wages, rather than a larger counterfeit one. The former is doubly beneficial because it protects the purchasing power of his hard won pension, and means that he will have a higher standard of living when retired.

Of course, if future wage increases were held within the limits of increased productivity, there might be a few negotiators with time on their hands. In that event, some of them could bend their efforts toward the emancipation of the great mass of unorganized politicians, white collar workers, etc. Others could join a great middle of the road political party, and seek election to Parliament where they could negotiate improvements for all the Canadian people.

At this moment, our urgent attention is focused on the employment aspect of our problem. To have so many able bodied men unemployed is a criminal waste of manpower. Not only is it wasteful, but, far worse, it is completely demoralizing. Men and women are going hungry. How can people contemplate the advantages of the economic and political system under which they live when they do not have sufficient money to look after the immediate needs of themselves and their families?

An immediate improvement must be found. Public works are a time honoured palliative. It takes months before such a program can achieve the desired effect. Even then, with the gigantic machinery used in many projects, the labour requirement is very small in relation to the expenditure involved. For example, the Canso Causeway, which cost $22 million provided peak on-site employment of about two hundred souls. Works projects should be recommended, or not, on the basis of their necessity and usefulness, and not just as a means of providing employment. There are stories to the effect that in some countries during the depression of the 1930's men were employed to dig a hole in the ground and then to fill it in again. That is not the type of solution which we seek.

The goal is useful employment in the production of needed goods and services. The consensus, as stated earlier, is that the fastest and most effective means of accomplishing this is to cut taxes on a broad base. The reaction is immediate and automatically channelled in accordance with the needs and wishes of all the people.

Assuming that the problem of unemployment can, and will be solved in the not too distant future, we must, I feel, heed the warning that the problem of inflation may still be with us. There are other facets of inflation which

I have not touched on to-day. It is a problem requiring the *working*—and I underline the word working—the working co-operation of management, labour and government, and all of us in our other roles as taxpayers and consumers. It is a problem of education. How many of us can explain, even in the simplest terms, the mechanics of our money supply and how its purchasing power is maintained or lost? The subject should be more widely taught in our educational institutions.

Many people are dedicated to preventing further inflation, and to maintaining the purchasing power of our currency. There are others who are equally, and perhaps just as exclusively, dedicated to the object of full employment, even at the cost of more inflation.

There is now sufficient evidence that I am willing to state the categorical opinion that it is possible in a diversified economy like ours to maintain both full employment and a stable dollar without socialism. Many adjustments may be needed, and the solution will not be easy or immediate. The ultimate power of an idea must not be underestimated, and, if enough of us are sufficiently concerned to make the necessary sacrifice, there is no doubt of ultimate success.

To complete the cycle, may I mention again the seeds of destruction mentioned at the outset. Like in the parable of "the sower", it depends on what kind of soil the seeds find themselves in. On the hard rock of conviction, exposed to the sunlight of truth, the "seeds of destruction" will lose their potency and power.

Each one of us has an important part to play.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Controller F. Joseph Cornish, Q.C.

"CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS"

An Address by

THE HONOURABLE G. R. PEARKES, V.C.,
Minister of National Defence

Thursday, February 27th, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. W. H. MONTAGUE: It is a great honour and a rare privilege to have as our guest speaker today The Honourable George Randolph Pearkes, V.C., C.B., D.S.O., M.C.—Minister of National Defence and Member of Parliament for Esquimalt-Saanich. Had he visited us yesterday it would have been in order to wish him many happy returns of the day! I do so now, on behalf of all present, on the basis that a day late is preferable to not at all.

When he last addressed us during our 1945-46 season, he was best known as one of Canada's most distinguished and truly beloved regular soldiers who, only in June 1945, had entered the political field after thirty years of wearing the King's coat in war and peace and in all ranks from private soldier to Major-General.

His first uniform was that of the Royal North West Mounted Police which he wore for two and a half years in the Yukon.

Wounded five times during World War I, his Sovereign awarded him the Military Cross for "conspicuous gallantry in action" when "he led a bombing party with great courage and determination, clearing 600 yards of trench and capturing eighteen prisoners. Later, although wounded, he remained at duty until the battalion was relieved";

then the cherished Victoria Cross for, as a Major, "most conspicuous bravery and skilful handling of the troops under his command" at Passchendaele after he had been wounded in the left thigh, and when "regardless of his wound he continued to lead his men with the utmost gallantry" showing "throughout a supreme contempt of danger and wonderful powers of control and leadership"; and then the Distinguished Service Order for, as a Lieutenant-Colonel at Amiens, handling "his battalion in a masterly manner" and for going "into the attack himself and by his splendid and fearless example putting new life into the whole attack which went forward with a rush and captured sixteen guns of all calibres up to eight inches". France awarded him the Croix de Guerre.

World War II found him a General Officer and he was created a Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath because, the citation says, "in every appointment which he has held he has given outstanding service. His unflagging devotion to duty and his great ability in the training and handling of troops have contributed greatly to the war effort of the Canadian Army at home and abroad".

The President of the United States of America awarded him the U.S. Legion of Merit in the Degree of Commander "for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding service" as Commander in Chief, Pacific Command, Canadian Army.

Such is the calibre of the man who, 42 years after he enlisted as a private soldier in the Canadian Mounted Rifles and twelve years after he had been first elected to the House of Commons, was on 21st June, 1957, sworn of Her Majesty's Privy Council for Canada and Minister of National Defence.

He has chosen for his subject today, "Canada's International Commitments".

Gentlemen: The Honourable G. R. Pearkes, V.C., C.B., D.S.O., M.C., M.P.

THE HONOURABLE G. R. PEARKES: V.C., C.B., D.S.O., M.C., M.P.: Mr. President, General Gunn and, from force of habit, Mr. Speaker: I sometimes think it would be easier to go over the top again rather than to listen to some of the introductions which have been so kindly bestowed on me. I thank you, Mr. President, very much indeed, for your very full and complete introduction.

I chose as my subject today, "Canada's International Commitments". I thought perhaps a general review of what our international commitments are, and the reason for them and how they have grown up to be of such importance might be of general interest.

As has been already mentioned it was twelve years ago when I had the privilege of addressing your membership. At that time we were just emerging from the Second World War and we had just signed the United Nations Charter. Everyone was full of hope that we were about to enter a period of peace and economic reconstruction and development.

Events during these past twelve years have told a different story and once again we are faced with a serious threat to our way of life.

It can be said that, with the advent of these devastating nuclear weapons, we are confronted today with the alternative of total peace or total war.

Although the Western Nations and the Soviet Union have repeatedly avowed that they would never initiate war, the fact remains that each side continues to show distrust of the intentions of the other and continues to build up their war potential including nuclear stockpiles.

We have now reached a nuclear stalemate with the fear of mutual annihilation serving as a somewhat doubtful assurance for continuing peace.

The recent Russian technological developments—Sputnik and so forth—are indeed startling, but they do not automatically ensure military superiority. Rather, with the development of medium range ballistic missiles based in Europe and elsewhere, the overall superiority of the West, in my opinion, is likely to increase in the days ahead. However, this stalemate can continue indefinitely, but such an outlook with the consequent strain on our economy is not readily to be contemplated.

Our aim, therefore, must be international disarmament but this is no easy aim to achieve. As you know, Canada, together with the United Kingdom, France and the United States recently presented to the United Nations a plan which called for the suspension of nuclear tests; the stopping of the production of fissile material for warlike purposes as soon as an effective control system is operating; the progressive reduction of conventional armaments and military manpower; and the institution of an effective system of inspection to verify that these agreements are being observed.

The United Nations adopted these proposals by an overwhelming majority by fifty-six votes to nine, but the opposition was from the Soviet Bloc who not only voted against it but later announced that they would destroy all further proceedings of the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

Despite these setbacks, we must increase our efforts to reach agreement on disarmament and we are, with our partners in NATO, ready to discuss any and all proposals that might lead to this end. This statement was reaffirmed at the December meeting of the heads of governments in Paris last December.

But the dangers ahead are not only military. In the not too distant past it was understood that the subjugation of one country by another was carried out by military force, but today a country can be overcome without a shot being fired through subversion and political infiltration originating often under the guise of economic aid with the resultant host of so-called technical advisors. We must, therefore, be on guard, and not only in a military sense but in these other fields as well.

The threat to our freedom is not regional but is global in nature. At the present time, in the world as a whole there are two main camps—the supporters of Communism and those who choose the democratic way of life. It has been suggested that co-existence is possible, and I think that it is imperative, if we are not to be plunged into a disastrous nuclear conflict, but it is obvious that if such is to be the case there must be some form of balance of power. In other words, we cannot allow any further expansion of Communism anywhere in the world.

We must not only make sure that those countries already on our side remain, but also by assistance and guidance influence those who are uncommitted and indicate to them that they have more to benefit by following our way of life rather than by turning to Communism.

In reply to a note from Mr. Bulganin, our Prime Minister on January 18, 1958, wrote: "You speak of co-existence, but if this concept means recognition of the existence side by side of capitalist and communist countries, it must also imply non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. . . ."

As Canada has grown she has undertaken obligations in the international field and as she continues to grow so will her influence be increasingly felt in the conduct of world affairs. We realize that the political and economic happenings in other parts of the world are of vital concern to us. Our membership in the Commonwealth of Nations, the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is indicative of the maturity of our country today. The Commonwealth of Nations is essentially a family affair, the United Nations, an association of states which have endorsed a charter and pledged themselves to maintain international peace and security and to co-operate in establishing political, economic and social conditions conducive to peace, and NATO, a defensive military alliance, with provision for economic and political co-operation and collaboration.

Your President, when he originally invited me to address you, pointed out that one of the objectives of your Club is the advancement of the Commonwealth of Nations. The Commonwealth stands today as the most successful union of free people in a world which must have union between nations or perish. An empire which was founded for purposes of settlement and trade has evolved by the middle of this century into a living and, in many ways, a dynamic union held together by a symbol—the Crown. The member nations cover roughly one-quarter of the world's land surface and contain a quarter of its population. They are a group of sovereign independent states linked in free association through a common inheritance of liberal political principles of

Anglo-Saxon origin; through the use of the Common Law; and through the practice of tolerance, mutual respect and of a pragmatic, rather than a theoretical, approach to political and administrative problems. Partners in the Commonwealth are active in the military field against communistic aggression but, I think that it is perhaps in the political area that there is the greatest influence for good. Based on democratic principles of government and ready to assist each other in economic matters the Commonwealth is indeed a force working for the betterment of mankind.

I had the privilege to attend, along with our Prime Minister, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London at the end of June and the beginning of July 1957. It was a rewarding experience for me and I was struck by the scope of discussion and the general agreement reached on the course of action we should take in the future. Naturally, as the communique pointed out, in an association of free and independent nations it is unavoidable that there should be some differences of viewpoint and opinion; despite these differences the meeting revealed a broad similarity of approach and purpose.

May I quote a paragraph of the final statement issued: "The primary objective of all Commonwealth governments is world peace and security. They believe that this objective can only be assured by increased co-operation between nations. They themselves accept the principle and practice of co-operation; it is the foundation of their association. They will continue to work for its wider adoption." The nations of the Commonwealth realize that there are fertile fields for Communism wherever poverty and under-development exist. For this reason the United Kingdom continues to play a leading role in furthering economic development in countries of the Commonwealth and important contributions are also being made by other Commonwealth countries in this direction.

Early in 1950 a meeting of the Commonwealth Ministers in Colombo, Ceylon was convened to find ways and means of assisting the economic development of the countries of South and South East Asia. From this meeting came the Colombo Plan. Originally, it consisted only of Commonwealth countries but other countries in that area, as well as the United States, were later invited to participate. Canada from the start has supported this Plan and to date has contributed some $200 million for capital and technical assistance. It will be recalled that on October 22 of last year, our Secretary of State for External Affairs announced that we would make available $35 million this year, an increase of $8 million over previous years. Nobody has been more active in this direction than the Honourable Roland Michener, who for so long was Chairman of our Conservative External Affairs Committee.

India has been granted a loan of $25 million in this regard for the purchase of some 400,000 tons of wheat and the generous terms of the loan call for repayment over a ten year period with no payment required for the first three years. This agreement was only reached a few weeks ago. In addition to our contribution under the Colombo Plan and in the light of severe shortages existing in these countries, the Canadian Government announced on January 8 that an outright grant of $15 million would be made available to India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Of this amount $3 million has so far been allocated to Ceylon for the purchase of wheat and $2 million to Pakistan for wheat. Much remains to be done in economic assistance but the fact that all members of the Commonwealth realize the importance of economic aid ensures that continued progress will be made in the years ahead.

In the military field, the importance of unity in defence is apparent in various parts of the world and the Commonwealth countries have led the way in strengthening their defences by uniting in various regional alliances. As you know, in the Atlantic area, Canada and the United Kingdom are members of NATO. In the Far East, New Zealand, Pakistan, Australia and the United Kingdom belong to SEATO—the South East Asia Treaty Organization; in the Middle East, Pakistan and the United Kingdom are staunch members of the Baghdad Pact.

These regionally defensive alliances were all formed in the face of Communist aggression. It has been realized that in this day and age no country, with the possible exception of the United States and the U.S.S.R., can afford all the weapons necessary for a complete defence; but by banding together, collective defence can be achieved along the most economic lines by the partners contributing the kind of forces they can best supply and equip. Where no such alliance exists, there we have the greatest danger. India, which maintains a non-commital attitude, is being wooed by offers of economic aid from Russia and, as you know, the economic assistance given to Egypt and Syria has been followed by increasingly strong political infiltration.

I believe that it is important to the free world that the strength of the Commonwealth should increase in the years ahead. By setting an example of democracy at work and seeing to the economic development of those countries less fortunate than our own, we are ensuring that the influence of the tenets of Communistic doctrines diminishes rather than increases.

The second world organization in which Canada is a member is the United Nations. We, together with fifty other nations, signed the Charter in San Francisco in 1945, and since then we have given our unstinting support to the aims and purposes set out in that document. An additional thirty-one countries have since been admitted—the latest being Malaya—so it is now truly representative of the peoples of the world. Despite the fact that the United Nations has not proved a perfect instrument—largely because of the Soviet attitude—it still remains a strong influence for peace in our world and, as such, deserves our whole-hearted support.

The United Nations cannot order any nation or nations to take or not to take some particular action, but by being a forum for discussion it can influence decisions taken by the nations of the world; and here I am thinking of the joint endeavour to halt aggression in Korea in 1950 and the formation of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East at the end of 1956. Admittedly, it failed in Hungary; but by focussing attention on the actions of the Russians in that country, it a least turned world-wide attention on those tragic events and reminded people on both sides of the Iron Curtain of the ever present intransigence of the Communist regime.

If it has partly failed in its purpose of preserving peace, the United Nations has done extremely well in alleviating want and suffering in many parts of the world. We realize the importance of this work and, apart from paying our share of the administrative budget, we have made voluntary contributions to such programmes as the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme (ETAP); the Children's Fund (UNICEF); the Refugee Fund (UNREF), and the Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). In connection with the latter agency, it was announced on January 23rd of this year that Canada was increasing her contribution for this year by making available 20,000 tons of flour or approximately one million bushels of Canadian wheat worth $1.5 million.

The Prime Minister addressed the Assembly on September 23rd of last year and had this to say about our attitude towards the United Nations: "So far as Canada is concerned support of the United Nations is the corner stone of its foreign policy. We believe that the United Nations will grow stronger because it represents the inevitable struggle of countries to find order in their relationships of the deep longing of mankind to strike for and attain peace and justice."

As I said, with the formation of the United Nations Organization there were high hopes after World War II that ways and means would be found to bring about permanent peace and disarmament, but it was not long before such hopes were rudely shattered. As one after another of the eastern countries of Europe fell under Soviet domination, we slowly realized that something more than words were needed to ensure our freedom.

As a result of such realization, Canada together with the United States joined other like-minded European nations in 1949, to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—the third group I referred to earlier in which Canada is a member. Originally consisting of twelve nations, the Organization has now grown to fifteen with the admission of Greece and Turkey in 1952, and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1955. Our partnership in NATO is the foundation of our defence policy and is of particular concern to me in my present capacity of Minister of National Defence. The effectiveness of NATO as a defensive organization is illustrated not only in the fact that since its inception there has been no further expansion of communism within the NATO area, but also from the reaction of the Soviets. By vilification and by threats to individual members the Russians have attempted to destroy the Organization. But today it is stronger than ever and more determined than ever to continue that way. That was my impression from having attended the meeting in Paris last December. Having failed in Europe, the Russians now seek to undermine the West in other parts of the world, no doubt working on Lenin's principles that the road to Paris lies through Peking and Calcutta.

The NATO concept is basically deterrent—we do not seek war, but rather by being prepared, we aim to stop a war starting. The deterrent forces can be considered in two parts—the sword and the shield. The sword consists of the retaliatory powers of the alliance which include the United States Strategic Air Command, supplemented by the United Kingdom V-Bomber Force. The shield is made up of, first, the air defence forces which protect these bomber forces and allow them to operate continuously from their bases and, secondly, the ground and tactical air forces which cover those areas where contact is made with the Soviet and satellite forces, particularly in Western Europe. Each part of the deterrent, both the sword and the shield, is of equal importance and is complementary one to the other.

In Europe, Canada is providing eight squadrons of F-86 Sabre Fighters and four squadrons of CF-100's, manned and maintained by some 5,000 members of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We also have stationed in Europe one half-supporting Infantry Brigade Group, augmented last fall by an armoured regiment, while our Navy has earmarked for the NATO naval forces in the Atlantic area some forty-seven ships.

At home we have constructed an elaborate system of radar warning lines . . . may I interject, not designed to detect the intercontinental missile when that is in operational use by the Russians—and have nine squadrons of CF-100 interceptor aircraft for the alerting and defence of the retaliatory forces on this continent and of our cities and industrial plants.

Last August, in a further progressive step to increase the effectiveness of our defences, the North American Air Defence Command or NORAD was set up on an interim basis. It had been recognized for some years that the air defence of Canada and the United States must be considered as a single problem, but until NORAD there was no provision for the authoritative control of all of our air defence weapons which must be employed against the attacker.

The threat of an attack on the North American continent with little or no warning, made it essential to have in existence an organization and command structure which could in accordance with plans to be approved in advance by the proper authorities of both countries. The establishment of NORAD implements the strategic objectives of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is in line with the other integrated commands in NATO and in no way affects the autonomy of the air defence forces concerned. However, it ensures adequate advance planning and control of the over-all air defence of the continent in the event of an emergency. Our participation in the joint Headquarters enhances Canada's position in this partnership.

No one will deny that our defence commitments constitute a heavy burden on our economy, but as Lord Ismay, the former Secretary-General of NATO pointed out: ". . . the North Atlantic Treaty is not only a solemn obligation but also an assurance against measureless catastrophe . . . nations who economize in the premiums which they pay for their security and thereafter become the victims of overwhelming aggression recover nothing."

In view of what I said earlier about the threat being not only of a military nature, it is well to recall that the activities of NATO are not limited to purely military fields. NATO also forms a community of nations with a growing interest in political, economic and cultural co-operation—not only between NATO nations, but also between all other countries of the free world. At the NATO meeting of heads of States in December last year it was emphasized that we would co-operate amongst ourselves and with other free governments to further the achievement of economic stability, a steady rate of economic growth and the expansion of international trade through further reduction of exchange and trade barriers.

I have touched but lightly on some of the activities of the three international groups to which we belong, but I hope that from what I have said you will realize the importance of the work they are doing towards the establishment of world peace. The objective is the same, but the methods to achieve this objective may vary. In view of Canada's growing stature in the world, the Government realizes the importance of these organizations and will continue to take an active interest in their endeavours. Canada is forced to accept heavy commitments but on balance she benefits by her associations in these organizations.

I feel that my last words to a group such as yours should be of the Commonwealth. Today, as perhaps never before, Canada has a very important part to play in this great organization. Developed from a paternal Empire, it has now become a co-operative family—a Commonwealth of Nations, As the oldest of the former dominions, we have a great store of experience to offer to the younger members. Our government is determined that we shall play a full part in the work of this enlightened organization—one of the most potent forces for peace in the world today.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Colonel N. D. Hogg, a member of the Executive Committee of The Empire Club.

“WHO’S WHO AND WHY”

An Address by

GEORGE EDWARD HALL,
A.F.C., E.D., M.S.A., M.D., Ph.D:, LL:D., D: es S:,
F.R.S.C.,
President and Vice-Chancellor,
The University of Western Ontario, London

Thursday, March 6th, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: It is our great good fortune to be addressed to-day, during “Education Week”, by one of Canada’s foremost educationists—George Edward Hall, A.F.C., E.D., M.S.A., M.D., Ph.D., LL.D., D. es S., F.R.S.C., who is President and Vice-Chancellor of The University of Western Ontario, which is an eighty-year old institution of learning, well known to all of us.

Dr. Hall, a native of Lindsay, Ontario, received his own education at Lindsay Collegiate Institute, Ontario Agricultural College, University of Toronto and the University of Ghent (Belgium).

His graduate studies embraced a period under Sir Frederick Banting at Banting Institute in 1929; the obtaining of his Master’s degree in Biochemistry in 1931; his Doctor’s degree in Medicine in 1935; his Ph.D. in Physiology in 1936, and the Reeve Prize for Medical Research. He also studied in England.

Dr. Hall’s appointments commenced as Research Associate in 1935 in the Dept. of Medical Research of the Banting Institute (U. of T.), then Asst. Professor, Associate Professor, and Professor by 1939.

Prior to World War II he joined the armed forces in charge of Aviation Medicine for the R.C.A.F. and he served, actively, from 1939 to 1945—being, also, a member of several research committees of the National Research Council. He was awarded the Air Force Cross, the Canadian Officer's Efficiency Decoration, and the American Legion of Merit.

In 1945 he was appointed Dean of Medicine at the University of Western Ontario, London, and, after two years, he became the President and Vice-Chancellor.

From this broad background of academic accomplishment, research experience, distinguished wartime service with His Majesty's forces, and as a top flight educator, Dr. Hall will address us on the subject, "Who's Who and Why".

Gentlemen: Dr. G. Edward Hall, President and Vice-Chancellor of The University of Western Ontario.

DR. HALL: The books of Horatio Alger, avidly ready by former generations of young Canadians and Americans, gave credence to the rags-to-riches tradition of success. It was perhaps an uncritical acceptance of the concept of equality of opportunity regardless of background and of education. It was, too, an emotional allegory wherein right overcame wrong, where justice prevailed, where determination, honour and poverty were characteristics of the hero; the rich man's son ended in disgrace. The background for success was poverty.

Just how true was this tradition? Mr. Richard Morris, the editor of the *Encyclopaedia of American History,* listing 300 notable Americans of that period, has told us. Over two-thirds of this really "successful" group of men and women "built their careers on the solid basis of family backgrounds of wealth, social positions or culture". Two thirds of the 300 had a college or professional school background. Only 84 of the 300 actually "rose from poverty". And these 300 are of a much earlier generation than ours.

How then did the rags-to-riches tradition become genenerally associated with the American formula of success? Obviously, explains Mr. Morris, it came initially from the 19th century literature of the adolescent, the dime-novel hero Deadwood Dick—the self-made man, and from the tireless Mr. Alger whose Phil the Fidler, Swim or Sink, Sam the Bootblack, etc. stressed the same theme. It was, too, an indication of rugged individualism in an expanding nation; it was an indication that success was "not a matter of background" but of "the survival of the fittest".

Andrew Carnegie was at that time most influential in instilling in the minds of youth that the office boy who had to leave school at 14 had a greater chance of success than the college graduate. Carnegie believed that the great business leaders had come from "the sternest of all schools—poverty". The many fabulous stories of individual achievement of about that time solidified the tradition. Carnegie—himself a bobbin-boy, Montgomery Ward—a farm territory dry goods salesman, Marshall Field—who left home at 17 to clerk in a village store, Meyer Guggenheim—an immigrant peddler, James Duke of tobacco fame and fortune. It all sounds so impressive but still, as Mr. Morris explains, the backgrounds of these men were no more typical of the successful businessmen than were the "log-cabin origins of Jackson and Lincoln typical of (the American President)".

One can go over many studies made of American business leaders during various periods. The facts refute the fables. Of one such study of 1500 business leaders, 64% came from the upper or upper middle class and some 40% of them were sons of businessmen. A recent study of 100 railroad men most prominent in the development of the great railroad systems in the Eastern United States during the 19th century showed that all of them came from established families and that no one was either an immigrant himself or the son or even the grandson of an immigrant.

The story, of course, is the same in the professions. Certainly there are exceptions but not too many. Take law as an example. The report reveals that family background has almost been a prerequisite for top-level achievement. And another analysis of 187 top businessmen of the first decade of this century again reveals that the majority were sons of businessmen. Only 5% were of underprivileged origin. Driving a real spike into

Carnegie's assumption, this last report shows that 45% started to work, not at 14 but at 19 or over and 41% had attended college. Less than 3% had been "poor" boys—immigrant or otherwise.

Later, in 1940, *Fortune* Magazine reviewed the careers of 100 corporation presidents. A higher proportion than in the 1900 survey—45%—had gone to college.

It might seem that family background, adequate financial resources, good connections and a college education were integral requirements of a successful business or professional career. It would seem that although the door to business opportunities was not quite shut, it was still not very wide open. But look at it from the other point of view. Even though 54% of those top people in *Fortune*'s 1950 survey had gone to college, 32% of the 100 corporation presidents were classified as "self-made men". A 300 hitter is still a big-leaguer.

But times have changed. The postwar period had placed greater and greater emphasis on education. The complexities of our society have demanded breadth of knowledge, technical skills and increased understanding. Youth is in the forefront relegating to the background the older business-leader. So we imagine.

Once again Fortune, in 1952, suggests otherwise. But the educational pattern had changed from the previous decade—65% of the 900 top executives in the survey had had four or more years of college. And significant, too, is the fact that the typical big-company high executive joined his present company while still in his twenties. He had served, on the average, only one other company before starting a life-time of service in his present company. "In the modern large corporation managerial talent tends to stay put".

But we are in Canada—undergoing the same type of industrial and economic expansion which characterized the United States 50 or 75 years ago. We have a more rugged task, dictated in part by geography, ahead of us than did the industrial pioneers of the comparable period in the United States. And yet we are together to-day in a competitive modern society. To-day the expanding frontiers of science, of technology, of marketing, of distribution, of exploration, are beacons to be followed by new men with new ideas. The young men possessing even a fraction of the talent of a Carnegie, of the imagination of a Guggenheim, of the industry and judgment of a Ford will always "find himself in a seller's market".

I often wonder if our society is losing sight of the fact that vigor, creativity, boldness and the sense of adventure are the keystones of a progressive society. Complacency, lack of dedication, fear of taking a risk—these are some of the things which we, as people, should fear.

Too often we think that it is the decision of our political leaders (and to a lesser extent, the voice of the voters) which shapes our society. I don't think so. Primarily the decisions are made each day by hundreds of thousands of people throughout our country. These decisions, individual decisions, create an attitude. The attitudes grow, a trend of thinking develops, concepts are established and the total society either through subsequent legislation or by general acceptance of a point of view, changes—for better or for worse. And for great importance in shaping the destiny or at least the direction of any society is the freedom of choice as to what one will do in life. Many societies deny this freedom. In many societies the individual's role was fairly well established at birth. But in Canada and in the United States at least, the extent of choice is virtually unlimited, the opportunities almost boundless. And the decision relative to education is central in that choice.

It has been charged many times that our young people are more concerned with security than with opportunity, that ambition has been replaced by lethargy and that individualism and ruggedness have given way to conformity and softness. These allegations are worthy of very careful examination but at the same time we would of necessity have to examine the influence of the parents relative to these attitudes. Perhaps the criticisms are being directed at the wrong target. Let us look at this thing from one or two points of view.

Let us go back to the suggestion that perhaps our young people are being criticised for various attitudes when the criticism should be levelled at someone else—with reason perhaps and certainly with understanding.

Narrowing some of these considerations to the field of education here are, in question form, a few pertinent points which require on the part of every parent, soul searching, understanding and realistic appraisal. And that is not only difficult: it is almost impossible. I certainly do not profess to know all of the answers.

1. There are parents who want their children to be doctors, others who want their children to be chemists, or engineers, or carpenters or bankers. Whose decision is it? If a boy is old enough and mature enough to go to University, is he not old enough or mature enough to determine what he wishes to do?

2. Who should go to University? Is University a must for my child just because he is my child? It is difficult for parents to weigh the evidence of their child's ability for higher education. To say that every child should *think* about going to University, should prepare for University, is not to say that everyone *must* go to University. He may not want to go. He may wish to develop his talents in some other direction. Or he may even wish to do nothing about his talents, even if he has plenty. It is ridiculous to think, as too many do, that success and a college education are synonymous.

3. Having decided on a university education the next question is what university should be selected. There are universities and colleges in large cities and in small towns. There are co-educational ones. There are denominational, provincial and private non-denominational universities and colleges. There are some right at home, some close to home, or far away. Although bigness is not synonymous with greatness neither is smallness synonymous with high quality. The right university is the one which will provide a particular person with the appropriate opportunities for maximum development and not necessarily the one that Dad went to. Dad and the boy, Mum and the girl are different people.

4. Should the course taken or the curriculum followed by one which makes the graduate immediately more

marketable? Or is a College course a preparation for an adult lifetime?

As the recent Carnegie Corporation report, which deals admirably with this whole series of problems, puts it ". . . the more able the young person, the more critically he should think about educational offering. He should shop with discrimination and accept only the best. Above all, the young person of superior ability should require that his education provide him with continual challenge and intellectual growth. He should expect steady progress in comprehension of fundamental principles relating to a subject and in the mastering of various modes of analysis. He must not sell these important gains for a mess of trivial information, 'practical' techniques, and seemingly useful know-how which will be out of date by the time he gets a job".

But to get back again to the basic question of the so-called change in the attitudes of many of our young people and their apparent loss of incentive or reluctance to tackle the "risk" jobs. And this in the face of great opportunities and a known scarcity for almost every type of activity. It would appear that many of the graduates have put security and stability ahead of everything; they think in terms of high salaries, pension plans, holiday arrangements, job security. They will work, and work hard—for those things—but most of them will not look twice at the jobs with adventure, the undertaking which may fail, the positions which require dedication, or the jobs which are rough and risky.

May I quote again from the Carnegie report: "The younger generation has been heavily belaboured for this attitude. But anyone who cannot see in it the fine hand of parents has not talked to many fathers and mothers of college-age children. It is an understatement to say that they are not adventurous for their children. They are profoundly and incurably unadventurous. And understandably so. They do not want their children to suffer. They hope somehow they can save them all the foolish mistakes, all the blind alleys, all the regrets and all the detours which characterized their own lives. Faced with decisions for their children, they favour the conventional over the unconventional, the easy over the difficult, the secure over the risky".

This, one can say, is not new; nor is it an unexpected reaction. But we must not forget that to-day with our incomes and higher standard of living we can do far more about it than our parents or grandparents could. Mr. Gardner adds this: "Though parents have always favoured stability, security, and the 'treading of the old paths' for their children, they have never had sufficient command of the exigencies of life to insure that outcome. Today . . . they can go very far in creating the stable and secure environment which they wish for their youngster. Having done so, they think they can wind him up like an eighty-day clock, and set him ticking in his beneficent environment, confident that he will whir along until he runs down".

Throughout the history of Canada are emblazoned the names of adventurous souls, daring people, people who sought new horizons, people who made great sacrifices, people who enjoyed competition and revelled in its excitement, people who believed in themselves, people who preferred opportunity to security, people who were not afraid to make mistakes.

No-one can truthfully say that Canadian young people have changed. No-one dare say that they are not as brave or as capable or as loyal as their parents were. That things have changed is true, but "what may have changed is our capacity (as parents) to evoke these qualities".

Andrejicka, Biagioni, Chertkoff, Demetracopoulos, Ebisuzaki, Fioravanti, Grocholski, Hayashida, Jensen, Kaspardlov, Litavaniks, Marziali, Narakas, Oleskevich, Peterson: These are not the names of members of the former French Foreign Legion nor even members of some pro football team. They are names of students at Western University, in London—a centre of Anglo-Saxon traditions. They are students at a private university. They are residents of Ontario. They are Canadians just like you and I. They and thousands like them are hard working, eager, appreciative and responsible citizens. They deserve our respect and our commendation. They don't always receive it. Why?

H.E. Francis Lacoste Meeting, March 20th, 1958.

Claude Thomas Bissell Meeting, April 24th, 1958.
From Left to Right: Samuel Beatty; Dr. Bissell.

Perhaps it is because they are willing to work harder than do some other Canadians. Perhaps it is because they see something which we have lost sight of—opportunity, and they are determined to strive and to risk and to look ahead. Perhaps it is because many of their parents or grandparents do not speak English quite as well as we do. Perhaps it is because they or their families have been labelled with that unfortunate tag—"D.P.".

Canada is supposed to be a democratic country. Were the Tustanoffs, the Uchinos, the Von Zur Muhlens, the Zielonkos, parents of more of our students, forced to come to Canada? Certainly not. They came to Canada because they saw in Canada a land of hope, of opportunity, of freedom. They came to Canada for the same general reasons which brought our grandfathers or our great-grandfathers to this new land. They came to Canada for the same reasons that brought the Andrew Carnegies, the Meyer Guggenheims, the Kefauvers, the Eisenhowers, the Roosevelts, to the United States. They too were one-time immigrants. They too had vision, had determination, had courage and were willing to work, to start at humble beginnings—and they succeeded. They made Who's Who.

Are we, third, fourth or fifth generation Canadians losing our zest for adventure? Are we afraid of ourselves or only of hard work and competition?

Here are some of our major scholarship winners—Von Rickoff, VanderLaan, Vanslyke, Hansebout, Ondrejicka, Dohnberg, Kotorynski—all recent immigrants—now new Canadians. And Ingeborg Suter and her brother Gerhard Suter—the two children of a war-widowed immigrant mother, Maria Wahl, John Vellinga, Peter Zelinski, Valentina Tritjack, Gregor Sass.

Certainly there are others—many others—from Anglo-Canadian and French-Canadian homes. But proportionately?

The parents of our new-Canadian students have given their children a sense of the opportunities which are waiting. The spirit of adventure is in their minds—the sense of urgency in their being—maybe because they do not have those too comfortable things which we expect and prize so highly.

Are we as parents denying our children, through a desire to protect them, of those things which Canada, and the world, need more to-day than ever before? Are we, as parents, afraid to let out children face comparable challenges to those which our parents and grandparents faced? Are we denying that a person learns not from his successes but from his failures? Have we forgotten that even a glorious failure is worth while—if we survive it and push on?

We as parents should not always assume that we know what is best for our youngsters. We do not know what the future holds. We must begin to realize that our young people are preparing now to face an unknown future. It is for us to help our boys and girls become prepared to meet their future—not ours, but theirs!

And whether our names be Mackenzie, Paquette, Jones, Murphy, Olizarevitch, Kaufmann, Van der Graff, Kotorinski, or Hall, we are all Canadians. We are all parents. Our new friends, our new Canadians, have the same will to progress and to adventure now that exemplified our forefathers in making Canada what it is to-day. Individual effort, hard work, desire, initiative and imagination are still the keynotes of success Those who face the world on that premise will be found in any one's Who's Who; those who cloak themselves in a cocoon of stability and guarantees or who are soothed by the rocking cradle of security may live a comfortable life but may never know the real thrills of living.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Dr. C. C. Goldring, a Past President of the Club.

"A LOOK AT AMERICA"

An Address by

HIS HONOUR JUDGE HAROLD R. MEDINA

Thursday, March 13th, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. W. H. MONTAGUE: It is over four years since we first invited His Honour Judge Herold R. Medina to address us, and it took his partial retirement from the United States Court of Appeals to make it possible for him to accept our invitation and to honour us with his presence here today. We extend a hearty welcome to him and to his charming lady, Mrs. Medina who, to our great good fortune has accompanied him on this visit to Canada.

Judge Medina was born in Brooklyn. He received his early education there at Public School No. 44 and at Holbrook Military Academy, Ossining. He went on to Princeton University and then to Columbia Law School, where he won the Ordronneaux Prize as top man in his graduating class.

Today he is a Charter Trustee of Princeton and a Life Trustee of Teachers' College, Columbia University. He has received honorary doctorates in Laws, Letters, Education, Humane Letters, Divinity and Civil Law from various universities. He is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

As there was no family law firm for him to enter, his first six years after graduation were filled with hard and intensive work. He clerked in a large New York law office; wrote for International Encyclopedia; prepared a new edition of a lawyers' manual; commenced his now famous course of lectures leading to the New York Bar examinations, and he taught part-time as an Associate

Professor of Law at Columbia. In 1918 he opened his own law office and specialized in appellate court work until in 1932 he became engaged in his first big criminal trial—the prosecution of the officers of the Bank of United States, which led to more and more trial work.

On 1st July 1947 the, by this time, large and important law firm of Medina & Sherpick, lost his services when President Truman appointed him a United States District Judge. His elevation to the bench was acclaimed editorially by the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald-Tribune* as it had been advocated by the various Bar Associations without political support of any kind. In 1949 Judge Medina achieved international prominence when he presided over the trial of eleven Communist leaders. His handling of this trial resulted in his becoming known to many Americans as "the patient Judge" and in his receiving many medals and awards. That same year he was chosen "Man of the Year" by the Associated Press newsmen. Hawthorne Daniel wrote a biography entitled, "Judge Medina" which has gone through two editions.

Immediately thereafter he commenced the hearings of a civil anti-trust action against seventeen leading investment banking houses for alleged violation of the Sherman Act. Sometimes described as the longest anti-trust case in American jurisprudence, Judge Medina filed, in October 1953, a 400-odd page opinion, dismissing the charges, from which the Government took no appeal. Meanwhile, in June 1951, he had been promoted to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, but had been unable to take his seat on that court until the Fall of 1953.

Judge Medina has authored numerous case books and text books, chiefly on matters of procedure. He has, however, produced one book of great general interest. It is called "Judge Medina Speaks" and contains a selection of his public addresses and writings which cover a wide range from "Why Study Latin?", "The Pursuit of Happiness", to "The Spiritual Quality of Justice". He has chosen as his subject for today, "A Look at America".

Ladies and Gentlemen: His Honour Judge Harold R. Medina of New York.

HIS HONOUR JUDGE HAROLD R. MEDINA: Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Members of The Empire Club and Ladies and Gentlemen: I am simply overwhelmed by this reception. Mrs. Medina and I have been so kindly treated here and so entertained and made to feel at home that I don't know how we are going to get ourselves to go back to New York tomorrow.

You know, we were introduced, away back in 1905, by a girl who was a Canadian. She came from Hamilton, Ontario, and her name was Phyllis Barnum. She was one of our bridesmaids and when we were married we spent our honeymoon in Canada, in Montreal.

You people, I do not think, realize how many friends, and such dear friends, you have in the United States. There is a community of interest, there is something that draws us so closely together that I want you to bear that in mind. Sometimes it seems as though there were all kinds of little issues of one kind and other, but we really love you and we want you to love us.

Now, what I am going to talk about today is the story of that Communist Trial and the aftermath. I call it "A Look at America" because you are going to see that it shows certain features that you wouldn't really expect, and of course you are going to hear all this story entirely from my own standpoint, and from the United States standpoint, and a good deal of it I think will surprise you. You will say, "Oh, that could never happen here!" Well, I don't think any of us thought it could happen there either, and I am pretty sure that as the result of what happened there, including sending all the lawyers to jail at the end of the case, it is going to make it pretty sure it won't happen again. So when you say to yourselves that could never happen here, don't be quite so sure about that.

Now I was called in to the office of the Chief Judge of the District Court, the Southern District of New York, one day in the fall of 1948, and he said, "Harold, I am assigning you to try the case of the Communists." I said, "All right," and I walked out. I didn't argue at all. I didn't know what a Communist was at all, to the truth. I thought they were just bad boys who wanted to divide up other people's property and rough-house around and make trouble. I didn't believe all I read in the newspapers and I was very skeptical about all the tie-up with Russia.

That was all right with me. Bear in mind I was a new Judge. At the time I started the Communist trial I had never as a Judge tried a single criminal case, and there were Judges in our Court House who had twenty-five or thirty years of experience trying criminal cases. Why they picked on me I will never know . . . I guess nobody else will ever know.

I went along perfectly content, and one day I got a little clipping through the mail from Raymond Moley in Washington. Moley was one of Washington's brain trusters . . . you probably remember hearing about him. He was an old friend of mine. He taught Political Science in Columbia when I taught Law there. Our classes were somewhat the same and I got to know him pretty well. I opened the envelope and there was the clipping . . . no letter, no explanation. The clipping said, Harold Medina had been designated to try the case of the Communists . . . he was rather a colourful figure in New York Bar, but pretty soon he was going to wish he had never been born. I didn't like that, particularly, and coming from anybody else I don't think I would have paid very much attention to it. Coming from Ray Moley I said to myself, that is the tip-off to watch out.

What could I do to watch out? How could you prepare for such a thing as this? There was only one thing I could think of. Mind you, what I expected was roughhousing and hell-raising, and that sort of business. I didn't expect anything other than that.

I don't know whether you remember what they call the Sedition case—a case tried in Washington some years before the early part of the war. There were thirty-three defendants, and it was the most crazy kind of case. They were being charged with some giant conspiracy to put Fascism over on the United States and on the world. They had thirty-three defendants and the Lord knows how many lawyers. Some of the defendants were their own lawyers, and the Judge who presided over the case was an ex-Congressman named Eicher, and from the very beginning of that trial there was confusion and hulabaloo, and the old Judge was pounding with his gavel and shouting at these fellows and punishing them for contempt, and at one time he had seven or eight under commitment for contempt of proceedings. Then they would go up on appeal and some would get reversed, and he got so tangled up that after about seven months he went in the Chambers one afternoon and he laid himself down and he died.

I didn't want to have that happen to Harold Medina, so I read everything I could read on that sedition case. I got a copy of the transcript and a couple of books that had been written on it. That was all I had to prepare myself, so we came to the beginning of the trial.

You never saw anything like it. They started out with a motion to take the revolvers away from the Police . . . and there was the Blah, Blah, Blah, about the trigger-happy police. I said, "Motion denied." Then they made a motion to change the place of trial to Madison Square Gardens. They said the workers had a right to come in and hear everything. This sort of thing kept up all the first day. It was kind of funny.

Then I get up to my Chambers, and there is a Deputy Police Commissioner there. He said, "Judge, we came up to arrange to give you a little protection." I said, "Look here, Commissioner, I don't need any protection. I don't want to do that. It will just dramatize this thing and it will just look terrible. You go away and give somebody else this protection because I don't want to do that."

Well, the next day I had a luncheon engagement with a Princeton classmate of mine. He called up before I went on the Bench and he said, "Harold, I don't think I am going to take lunch with you today." I said, "Why not?" He said, "Well, somebody might take a shot at you and hit me." That was the kind of a friend to have . . . just to relieve any nervousness I might feel.

That afternoon the Deputy Police Commissioner was back. He said, "Look here, you know your business, we know our business. You are going to get protection whether you like it or not." From that time on the F.B.I., the State troopers and the city detectives were with us all the time. We went to our place on Long Island on Friday afternoon. The State Troopers' car went ahead blowing a siren, and the F.B.I. car behind, and all the cars were swept off the road. They didn't know there was anybody behind the troopers and as soon as the troopers got by they came zinging back in. Anyway, when we got through the trial we had to get a new windshield for the car, as the result of all the pebbles coming up there.

Well, the point of all this, you may think it kind of fun to have the F.B.I. and the detectives and the troopers with you, but it gets pretty tiresome after a few months. This went on for nine solid months. As a matter of fact, after the trial was over the F.B.I. men were not with us, and all of a sudden, without any reason we knew about, they would be back with us for a couple of months. I never asked why they went or why they came.

A couple of weeks ago we went down to El Paso . . . I was going to make an address down there. Who met us at the airport but the F.B.I. again. They took us in charge all the time. That is pretty close to Mexico and there are a lot of these fellows around down there. It is kind of serious business but you laugh about it.

Anyway, we went on with the trial. You just can't imagine the things the lawyers were up to all the time . . . and the things they called me. They demanded I disqualify myself the first day . . . I was unfit to sit . . . I was prejudiced . . . I hated the negroes . . . I hated all the Jews . . . I was the champion discriminator of the world. I said, "I don't know anything about the case. I haven't any prejudices. That motion is denied." But that didn't make any difference. They were right back again. They were after me half a dozen times a day, practically calling me a crook. You know, it gets a little tiresome after while.

Anyway, with that and the shouting and the hulabaloo going on, I guess about the third or fourth day I had my first intimation of what I was really up against. I got down to the court house about a quarter past eight in the morning. There was a delegation to see me . . . a delegation of workers from some place in Ohio. I said, "These fellows have no business to come around talking to the Judge . . . bring them in." There were twelve fellows . . . they looked like ordinary Americans, ordinary workers . . . they didn't look like what I thought Commies look like at all.

Then they started this business of, this is a political case, this an indictment, this is an outrage, you ought to throw it out. I said, "You men have no right coming talking to a judge and telling him what to do with a case. What would you think if a rich man or a politician came sneaking through the back door and telling the Judge what to do with a case? You fellows have no right to do this, and you fellows get right out of here."

Well, you know, telling them to get out and getting them out was somewhat different. Each one of the fellows wanted to say the same thing. You couldn't just push them out and I didn't want to get the Police to put them out. I thought I was able to do that myself.

Then right behind this delegation was another delegation, and behind that, another delegation, and behind them, another delegation . . . there was a delegation of housewives, a delegation of veterans, a delegation of negroes, delegations of all sorts of people that fitted into the pattern of the Communist propaganda and they came from all over the United States. They came from away out in the State of Washington, from California, from Idaho, from Oklahoma, from New Mexico, from throughout the South, from Maine and New Hampshire, from Michigan, from Indiana, Illinois, from all over that great United States of America. They were brought in there to bring the same identical pressure on me, one after another. I lost having my lunch one day just sitting talking to these fellows. That went on for two or three days and all of a sudden I began to get tired. Mind you, no matter how long I stayed there were delegations still waiting. I might leave at a quarter to seven o'clock and two or three delegations would be waiting.

I was in court all day, going over law points and listening to all hulabaloo going on with the lawyers there, and suddenly I realized what a fool I was. I realized something else. I said, if this organization is powerful enough to get these people from all over the country to come here and bring this pressure to bear on me, this is a little bigger than I thought it was, and that is the time that I decided to go on that little regime that you may have heard about. We cut out all private life entirely, we never went to see anybody, we never went to dinner, we never went to the theatre, to the movies, or anything else. I had a strict regime. I got up at a certain time, had breakfast at a certain time, got down to the court house, went through the morning session, had my lunch, laid down for a little nap. It took about a week before I could go to sleep right away. After that, every day at a quarter past one, I got on the couch and I would go to sleep just like that and sleep for fifteen or twenty minutes, and then go back preparing material for the afternoon session. And the rest of the nine months was spent that way.

And let me tell you the schedule was just like you women use with babies . . . they are fed at a certain time, put to sleep at a certain time. This regime every day at exactly the same time is the saving of physical and intellectual energy that you simply cannot imagine. It really worked. What I had for lunch every day . . . after experimenting I found that one lamb chop, medium rare, and spinach . . . and don't you fool yourselves about that spinach . . . that has really got the strength in it. That will get you through the day whereas all kinds of other things I experimented with didn't do the business. That is the right lunch . . . it gives you the strength and gets you through.

Now, it was soon evident their strategy was not to have these men acquitted. You never saw anything like it in a courtroom before. There was no manoeuvre such as is seen in a criminal case designed to have the jury feel the men were innocent and try to get them off. Nothing of that kind. Two things they were at all day, every day. One of them was to spread this Communist propaganda. Think what a wonderful opportunity they thought they had, because one-half of that big courtroom, and it was the biggest one we have in the City of New York, one whole half of the courtroom was given to the press from all over the place. There were fellows from foreign countries there. What they wanted to come for I don't know. They evidently sensed the importance of this thing a whole lot better than I did. Anyway, the place was jammed with reporters, magazine writers and fellows of that kind. So here was the opportunity of a lifetime the Communists thought to spread their propaganda and their propaganda fell into these identifiable lines, so readily.

There were things I never realized before . . . take the Veterans . . . remember I told you how they had delegations of veterans coming to see me . . . delegations of housewives coming in. How do the veterans come in? How do the housewives come in?

You know after every war the veterans feel abused . . . they are not getting enough. You can give them houses and bonuses, everything under the sun, they always want more. They say, we will just pour a little oil on that, light a couple of matches, get the veterans worked up so they feel they are not being treated as patriots should be treated.

The housewives . . . a very important part of the propaganda is to get the women to feel they are tied to the sink . . . they have to wash the children, get the meals for the family and do all the dirty work around the kitchen and the house. They get that going and there are a whole lot of women around the United States who just fell for that like a ton of bricks. It all sounded silly at first. It wasn't silly, any part of it.

And the Negroes? Oh, my, they were at the negroes and the lynching of the negroes and the negroes' rights and segregation and all that. We were supposed to be trying a case . . . we couldn't get to talk of the issue of the case . . . they were off on this and off on that every time a witness was testifying, bringing in all the negro business and all that. And also with the Jews. I never suspected that was part of their program, but it was. So they had the propaganda business going all the time . . . the war in China, the war in Spain . . . Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln—they kept talking about them. I couldn't figure it out at first . . . it seemed as though they must have changed their ideas or something or other. That is the way they did it.

The other strategy was to break up the trial. If they could break up this trial, then they could break up the next trial, and then the American system of the traditional administration of justice would be proved to be inadequate to handle the Communist situation. So they would say, Why the capitalists are the ones using the force and violence . . . we don't do that. It is always the capitalists that use the force and violence. That was the strategy behind it. They never dreamed they weren't going to break up that trial.

You say, What are you talking about, Judge? How do you mean break up the trial? Well, for one thing, you know if they could knock me out . . . that is the Achilles' heel of our system and your system of administration of justice. You have only one Judge. You have twelve jurors and twelve alternate jurors. Knock out a juror and you have another juror to put in. You knock out the Judge and that is the end of the case. Nobody ever thought of that before. It took the Communists to figure that out. As you will see before I get through they pretty nearly did it with me.

I don't want to make this too long, but I want to give two or three concrete instances of this endeavour to break up these trials. Their lawyers on the job were insulting me, shouting and yelling around, doing all kinds of things, and trying to bait me into sending them to jail for contempt, because the minute I got one of those lawyers in jail for contempt, come to think of it that was the end of the trial. The defendant wouldn't have a lawyer any more. He is entitled under our Constitution to a lawyer to defend him. That doesn't mean a lawyer in jail. Nor can they give a new lawyer a case so complicated that it would take a month or two to know what it was about. So all the baiting was designed to get me to put one of the lawyers in jail, or two or three of them, and one thing would follow another and that would be the end of the trial as sure as anything.

Now, I am going to give one or two concrete instances. One day one of these defendants was on the witness stand under cross-examination, and the United States Attorney . . . that was what they call our Prosecutor . . . he asked a question pertinent to some of the things he testified about under direct examination. The lawyer jumped up and objected that the man had a privilege against self-incrimination. The witness started blowing off a little steam. I said, "Be quiet here. I will take care of this." I said to the lawyer, "This is a very important thing. My own feeling is when he took the stand he waived privilege against self-incrimination as to all matters questioned on self-examination. I am going to think on this over night."

I did this several times. In one or two instances I changed the ruling after thinking over night. I was really trying to call the strikes and balls as they came over the plate. I said, "I am going to think about this over night, and you talk to your lawyer about it." The next day when I got on the bench the atmosphere in the courtroom was electric. Every day all the Communist sympathizers would get on a queue in front of the door of the courtroom. Sometimes the queueing was all around the court house . . . sometimes four or five hundred people trying to get in . . . all the Communist sympathizers. Every day some of the lawyers would jump and say the spectators said that I ruled sixty-two times in favour of the Government and not once in favour of the Defence. Imagine doing that to the Judge! All the spectators were rustling around.

So the witness gets back on the stand and the United States Attorney withdrew the question that was asked the day before. Then he asked another one that was even clearer, and the lawyer for the defendant objected and said the man had a right not to answer because it would incriminate him. I turned around and said, "Mr. Witness, I direct you to answer that question." He said, "I refuse on my grounds of constitutional privilege against self-incrimination." I said, "I over-rule that objection. I direct you to answer that question." Then he refused again . . . and I let him have it. I said, "I now sentence you to thirty days in jail for contempt of court, for refusing to answer a question in the court, and thirty days is what you get unless you purge yourself sooner by answering the question."

Well, what happened then you just couldn't believe could happen in a courtroom anywhere. The whole mass of people in front of me get up as one man . . . all the people, all the lawyers, and the spectators . . . and the yelling and the hulabalooing and cursing . . . you just can't conceive it.

Well, there was Somebody helping me that day, as there was Somebody helping me a good many other days during that trial.

I said just as quiet, and I didn't raise my voice . . . I never used a gavel during the whole trial . . . they gave me three the day I was sworn in but I didn't use them . . . I looked around and I said, "Isn't this Mr. Hall?" Then I said, "Mr. Hall, I remand you for the balance of the trial." What that means was that when the end of that session of court came, Mr. Hall, instead of being out on bail and going home, would go to jail and would be brought down the next day in manacles and be in manacles, and go back to jail the next night. He would do that for the rest of the trial . . . that is what it meant. I said, "Mr. Hall just said this is a kangaroo court."

The reporter in all the excitement wasn't taking anything down. You can imagine, when of all times it was important that he be on the job!

These fellows were coming toward the Bench in a menacing way. They really were enough to frighten a person.

I got over here . . . "Isn't that Mr. Winston—that big coloured fellow in there?" I got down what he said, and remanded him for the balance of the trial. Pretty soon I picked off about five of them. All I had said was to get on the record the remarks I had heard and remand for the balance of the trial. I never raised my voice . . . there was no banging, no shouting . . . all quiet but firm . . . and the noise began to subside. They were all standing up. I asked them to sit down a couple of times.

There was Dennis, the leader. The book describes the case as the United States against Dennis et al. He was the leader, he was the big shot. He thought it was time for him to do his stuff. He sat back and let me have it. I said, "Mr. Dennis, don't you remember, you are your own lawyer . . . you know, and I told you the other day that I was going to treat you like the lawyers and for the lawyers there may be a day of reckoning, but no matter what you say to me now you are not going to wind up in jail with your friends. You can say whatever you want if you want to abide the consequences. Besides," I said, "Mr. Dennis, you look silly."

That is where I had him. This great, big, lumbering fellow, going from one foot to the other, in a stammering way, and when I said he looked silly, that really got him right in the solar plexus. I said, "Why don't you all sit down and we will get on with the trial." With that Dennis said, "Sit down," and they all sat down.

You know, it sounds crazy. You just can't believe it. That is exactly what happened.

Now, I said, "I remand you for the balance of the trial." I didn't say why, did I? I didn't have a chance to think. I was pretty sure the place for them was the coop. That is what I decided but why? . . . I didn't have a chance to think about that. Nobody raised any point at the time. I went on for the rest of the day's session. I never forgot that day—Friday, June 3rd, 1949.

We came back again and everything went fine in the morning session the next day, and then after lunch the lawyers came up and said they had a very important communication to make to me. We were in the little robing room. I noticed all the lawyers for the Communists were beaming for joy. They said, "This morning we argued the writs of habeas corpus to get out of jail the lawyers you sentenced. We have argued those writs before Judge Lebel this morning and he has formulated certain questions for you to answer." I said, "All right, what are the questions?" They said, "They are in this envelope." I said, "Let us open the envelope." They said, "No, Judge Lebel has stated you are to attend the Bench and open the envelope in public and give the answers in open court."

Well, what I thought about Judge Lebel at that particular moment was pretty bad. But you know, it was such a smart thing for him to do. These defendants had been accusing me from the beginning of the trial of conniving with the Attorney General, conniving with the United States Attorney who was the Prosecutor, conniving with the officers and so messing up the jury system as to exclude from the jury the people who would be favourable to them, and Judge Lebel had sense enough to fix it up in time so nobody could say he and I had been colluding together or talking about the grounds on which I sentenced these men to prison on the Friday before. It was a very wise thing for him to do.

Can you imagine how alone I felt there with eighteen other United States District Judges right in that court house? I couldn't ask any of them for advice. I couldn't go to them to discuss anything. I was absolutely and utterly alone. The case was just packed with dynamite and I was the one who had charge of the case and nobody else was going to touch it. I tell you there was a feeling of lonesomeness about it, and you find as you get a little further on you get to a point where you know you can't do things all by yourself. I felt I was a pretty small particle from the general scheme of things, and let me tell you, I did a lot of praying during that trial, and I called on our Almighty Father to help me again and again.

So I put on my robe and I got this envelope and I got on the bench. This was Question Number 1: Did you remand the defendants in your exercise of your power as a plenary judge, as a trial judge, to control bail?

I hadn't even thought of that. As a matter of fact, nobody knows today that that circuit, that great second circuit, includes New York and Vermont . . . nobody knows today whether a trial judge can revoke bail of the defendant in a criminal case without any reason to suspect he won't be back in court the next day. Bail is something to get the man's presence in court. There wasn't any doubt these men would be back the next day. I couldn't have really justified revoking their bail unless the law was that a trial judge always has that power in a criminal case. If I were to have the opportunity to vote for such a rule today I would vote for it. I think it is a salutary rule.

The next question was whether I had remanded for contempt of court, committed in my presence. The next question was whether I had remanded in the exercise of some other rights I possessed. I looked down at the fellows. They were all smiling and smirking, thinking they had me in a hole.

I said, "I remand in the exercise of my power as a plenary judge to control bail, and for contempt of court committed in my presence, and in the exercise of each and every other power I possess under the Constitution of the United States." That did the business all right.

Of course they appealed those convictions for contempt, and they appealed everything else I did. They appealed a lot of things I did. They never got any reversed . . . they picked up a few votes in one part on one, and a few on the other . . . they never got enough to reverse any.

Well, we went on from there and pretty soon things were beginning to get kind of desperate. It was getting into July. One day had all the pickets in front of the court house. The police did a gorgeous job with these Communist fellows picketting with signs. They love to do that with big signs, walking around, and the Police had them all herded in the little park right in front of the court house. I guess you could get a thousand people in there, packing them in. They were packed in pretty well.

One day they started with the sign, "How Do You Spell MEDINA?—R-A-T." They knew they weren't going to get me mad. They had called me worse than that all through the trial, and if they thought it was going to have any effect on the country at large, nobody paid any attention to it. "How Do You Spell MEDINA?—R-A-T"—So what? So what? I just laughed it off.

Then they stopped the signs when they didn't have any effect, and after a few days more . . . and I hope you ladies will pardon what I am going to tell you . . . after a few days that mob of people started going around with their hands on the shoulders of the fellow in front and shouting, "Judge Medina's a son-of-a-bitch". They kept that up all day long.

I tell you they didn't do that to get me mad . . . they knew they weren't going to get me mad. Besides, I had been called that before. They weren't going to come on anything they could do to me.

They got the reaction they wanted and if you could ever see the hundreds and hundreds of messages I got, not from Commies, but from my friends, from other judges, friendly to me, people who hated the Communists, and they would say, "Harold, what is the matter with you? Haven't you any guts that you let these fellows do this right in front of the court house in New York City? Why don't you do something? Why don't you punish them for contempt? Why not get the F.B.I. . . . get down what they are saying, haul them into court and get them all in jail for doing this?"

You know, it wasn't very pleasant for me to get those communications at that late hour from my friends, calling me yellow, and saying I didn't have any guts, that I was afraid to stand up, when all the time I knew that was what these people wanted me to do. That was what they did it for—to have me start a few contempt proceedings—and it would be like Judge Eicher over again. It looked so clear and all the pressure was brought on me to do it.

You say, "Judge, why didn't some of the other Judges do something? Obviously, these people were guilty of contempt—why didn't the people do something?"

It is hard to get over to you. I was alone. Nobody dared touch this thing. It was full of dynamite. You couldn't tell what might happen. I tell you I think the other Judges were right. I was the only Judge at that stage that had my fingers on the wires, that knew what was going on.

Well, I got all this mass of mail . . . I got every day three or four hundred letters and postcards, calling me one thing and another, calling me names and following the Communist line as it changed from time to time. So I didn't do anything. Then they found it didn't work.

Finally, it got around into August. I was tired. I tell you I *was* tired. I had to take dope every night . . . I did it on the doctor's advice so I could get sleep.

All the points of law, all the intricate questions were coming up all the time. I believe they had forty or fifty lawyers working twenty-four hours a day thinking up points to drop at me. I called them torpedoes. They were dropping torpedoes all over the place. The points were repeated and repeated, and then suddenly in the middle of the repetition, another point, and I would say, "What is that? Let me hear that point again," in order to keep your mind on these things. All you had to do was make two or three slips and the conviction wasn't worth anything . . . it just wouldn't stand up.

Well, we got around to August and I really was tired. One afternoon, about half past three, I thought I was going to faint. I was afraid I was going to make a scene and fall off the bench. I said, "Gentlemen, I feel ill. I am going to take a little recess and go out and lie down." There was no use making any bones about it. I tried to do everything on the level, on that trial. That is one of the things that saved me. I wasn't trying any manoeuvring or strategy . . . I was saying the things that were so and the things I ought to do.

When I said I felt ill and was going out to lie down, if you could have seen the look on the faces of the defendants, and those lawyers there, as much as to say, "We've got him now" . . . and you know, I thought they had. I just didn't see how I was going to go back to that bench again. I went out to that ante-room, where I got that letter from Judge Lebel, and I lay down on that couch, and, Oh, I did some tall praying that afternoon.

You know, you either have your faith of you haven't got it. I was one of the lucky ones. There is no use trying to pray if you don't believe. I did believe. I have always had my faith all my life and I tell you I really meant business that afternoon all right.

You know, during that trial I got so I would say these little prayers through the day. Sometimes I would be sitting on the bench there and I would just quietly check in with God and ask Him to help me. Probably this sounds kind of queer to some of you people, but you know, when you get in the habit of it, when you get used to asking for help that way, and you realize you can't do all these things yourself . . . in fact, you can't do any of them by yourself, really . . . by then you are really beginning to make some progress in your spiritual education.

After a little while I began to feel better and I went back to the bench that afternoon and I sat through the balance of the day's session, and I carried on to the end of the case, and so that was all over.

Now, I want to just give you the contrast. Now I come to the contrast that has to do with this look at America. There I had been for nine solid months, getting kicked around by everybody—my friends and others alike. In the early part of the trial there were some editors who wrote editorials in some of the southern parts of the United States, demanding that I be impeached for not kicking them around enough, not being rough enough with the Communists.

There I was, trying to do my job as a Judge, trying to do my job in this case as I thought it was my duty to do and being told by these fellows that I ought to be impeached because I wasn't dealing roughly enough with them.

I never did like gavel banging judges and judges who yell at people and kick them around. The American people didn't like Judges that do that either. But during the whole trial all I got was cursing out from everybody —the Communists cursing out and telling me what to do, and telling me I was doing it all wrong. Well then, we were all through and I came down to my Chambers to say "Good-bye" to my staff and go off for a little rest.

Well, do you know, the first day the letters came in. . . . I suppose about a thousand that first day . . . and I said, "O, my, what am I going to do with all this mail?" I got one of the girls from my old law firm up and I had my secretary in my Chambers there, and I got one of the girls that had retired from my office, and the three girls were there and I kept reading through the letters, and throwing them away, and answering, maybe, two or three out of a hundred. If I got a letter from some old person or some blind person . . . and some of these letters were from boys and girls I had gone to grammar school with whom I wouldn't have thought would know I was in existence, and some from teachers who I would have sworn didn't even know I was in the school. These were the ones I was answering.

I must have gone on two or three days that way. I don't know how many thousand I threw away, and all of a sudden the thing hit me. I said, "Harold, pull yourself together. What is going on here? What are these people trying to say to you? Here you are in the middle of the turbulence of a great spiritual force and you haven't even caught onto it."

What were they saying? I will tell you what they were saying . . . it is one of the most encouraging things. Every one of these people, mostly little people . . . people in filling stations, people in beauty parlours and in shops all over the United States . . . they were saying to me, just as though the word "America" was written across the face of every one of those letters, "I love America, too. I love America, too, just like you do."

Oh, you want to have something pulling at your heart strings. . . . I finally caught on to what they were trying to say. Over two thousand of those letters came from husband and wife together. You know, I never heard of people sending letters and having the husband and wife sign together. This was different. Here was something they were glad about. It wasn't that they were glad because the Communists had been convicted . . . this wasn't fan mail . . . this wasn't telling me, "Judge, you are a great fellow . . . you are a fine Judge". No, no, no. They were glad because our system of justice had prevailed. It had remained intact. It had been equal to the task of trying people impartially and fairly, according to the law. That is what these people rejoiced about, and I just happened to be the lucky man that for the moment to all these people was the symbol of justice, the symbol of patriotism.

Can you imagine just wandering into something like that. I didn't do any different than any other Judge. They would all have done the same thing. There, just for a little while, I could bask in the sunshine of the love of all these people that thought of me as representing justice and their country that they loved.

And, Oh, they did so many things for me. You know some of them are awfully curious. There is a little town in North Dakota that used to be called Medīna. One day the Judge called me and said they were going to change the name of the town to Medina in our honour. I said, "Well now you are fooling." He said, "No, this is serious business."

It was serious business in the town, and the Council met and all the people met. It is a little place of about 700 inhabitants. They got me to the telephone. I did my stuff on one end of the telephone . . . it was all recorded and they came out with a loudspeaker. I said, "This can only happen in America." How true that is! It is true with you people here. You are the same kind of people we are. That is about the size of it, if it came right to it . . . they just wanted to show what the other people had been showing in the letters.

A few years after that Mrs. Medina and I were up in North Dakota. I was addressing the Bar Association. I said I can't go back to New York without going to Medina, and I added that I bet they were calling it Medīna the way they used to do. Anyway, we all went over there . . . Mrs. Medina and I did and the fellow who drove us over. They told us to get there at a certain time. The whole town was out, the whole seven hundred of them. I got out of the car and this fellow rushed up. Look here, my friend, I have two pistols in my pocket . . . the first man who says "Medīna" gets both barrels. This is all on the level. Anyway, we had a wonderful time.

I will tell one or two other little things that happened, to give the flavour of this, and I am almost through. I was in San Francisco one day, walking around the street and along came one of the funny little cable cars, with a young worker, covered with dust and with his lunch bag. He jumped out and came over to me, squeezed my arm and looked me in the eye. I never heard such an eloquent speech in my life. I knew what that boy was trying to tell me . . . he just squeezed my arm and looked at me . . . then he ran off and got back on the car.

I remember one time going to Missouri in the train and a man went by with his little girl, coming back from the diner. He walked past and after a minute or two he came back. He brought the little girl in and he said, "I want you to shake hands with my little girl, Susie. Susie, this is Judge Medina. I don't want you ever to forget him."

Do you get it? Are you beginning to understand what happened to me there? There was all that kind of business.

Let me tell you, in the critical hour we people around this part of the country just come together. We fight over political issues and this and that, but the common man in the aggregate has a sense of what should be done in the critical time and of course out of all this came to me the realization that the spiritual things are the things that are really important. That is the way we are going to beat the Communists, not by the bombs and the mass production and all that sort of thing. It is our spiritual things, our Bill of Rights that we have, and the rights that you have here, and I always think that they all go back to good will.

You know . . . maybe some of you don't remember . . . there in the Book of St. Matthew they talk about a time when a bunch of these fellows who were talking to Christ were trying to get Him in a hole, and the Sadducees had been after Him and He gave a lot of answers that just knocked them right out of their shoes and the multitude were astonished. And you remember there were the Pharisees, and the Pharisees used to get after Him, and the Pharisee went up in the street with all the crowd around and he said, "I have got a question: What is the great commandant of the law?" He thought there wasn't any answer to that question, and that he had just fixed Christ up in good shape with that one because no one could answer.

That is when Christ answered: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and all thy soul and all thy mind. That is the first and great commandment, and the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two hang all the law and the prophets.

Do you remember that? It doesn't make any difference what your religion is . . . it always talks about love thy neighbour as thyself. That is good will. The other part is humility. Love thy God. He is the high and mighty Ruler of the Universe—not you and I. We are just little fellows who don't amount to much, and this good will is the most dynamic force in the world, and out of good will comes freedom and justice and that is the combination, my friends, that is unbeatable. That is what makes the world go round. That is what will beat the Communists. That is what will give us happy, wholesome lives and make things go the way they should.

Well, it is wonderful to have been with you here, and thank you for listening to me.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Alexander Stark, Q.C., Vice-President of the Empire Club, and Mrs. Medina was presented with a bouquet of red roses by the 1st Vice-President of the Club, Mr. Bruce Legge.

"THE ALGERIAN ISSUE"

An Address by

HIS EXCELLENCY FRANCIS LACOSTE,
Ambassador of France to Canada

Thursday, March 20th, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: In November, 1955, His Excellency Francis Lacoste was appointed Ambassador of France to Canada and, in April, 1956, he honoured us with a most enjoyable address entitled "The Present Day Spirit in France".

Much has happened in the comparatively short period of two years since then and so many of the really important events have either directly involved or been of interest to our NATO partner France that we consider ourselves extremely favoured that Mr. Lacoste has accepted our invitation to visit us again to-day and to honour us by speaking about "The Algerian Issue".

His excellency entered the French Diplomatic Service at the age of 23, having received a Liberal Arts degree and having graduated from the School of Political Science. His first post was in economic affairs at Quai d'Orsay. He then served as Secretary of the French Embassies in Yugoslavia (1932-36) and in China (1936-39).

The outbreak of World War II found him back in France and by November he was active in the army—having been a reserve officer in the infantry. Came the Armistice in 1940 and his opportunity for distinguished service in the French Resistance Forces and, after the Allied landing in Provence, for fighting, as a member of the First French Army, for the liberation of his beloved

France. Now he is an Officer of the Legion of Honour and holds the Crois de Guerre.

December, 1944, saw Mr. Lacoste first Counsellor of the French Embassy in Washington. This posting continued until early 1948 and included such important assignments as presiding over the French delegation of the Far Eastern Commission which went to Japan late in 1945, and acting as spokesman in 1947 for Laos and Cambodia before the Conciliation Commission which met in Washington and awarded to those two countries the return of the areas and people captured from them in 1941 by Thailand.

By February, 1948, and until April, 1950, His Excellency was deputy to the Resident-General in Morocco. Then he was posted to New York as Deputy Representative to the Security Council of the United Nations and, for seven months in 1951, he was interim head of the French Delegation to the U.N.

Leaving New York in 1953, he attended the Geneva Conference on Far Eastern Affairs as a member of the French Delegation and then, in May, 1954, Mr. Lacoste was appointed Resident-General of France in Morocco. About a year and a half later, in November, 1955, he assumed his present distinguished post as Ambassador of France to Canada.

We welcome him most cordially and are delighted that he will now address us on the timely and important subject—"The Algerian Issue".

HIS EXCELLENCY FRANCIS LACOSTE: Permettez-moi de vous dire, d'abord, tout l'honneur que je ressens à me trouver une fois de plus devant vous. Il y a deux ans, en effet, j'avais le privilège de vous adresser pour la première fois la parole. L'invitation qui m'avait été faite alors avait été pour moi un sujet de fierté,—mais en même temps de préoccupation, car je m'étais demandé si je saurais retenir, et satisfaire, votre attention. Je me rends compte, cependant, que mon inquiétude, à cette époque, a du être bien peu de chose auprès de l'angoisse de votre comité exécutif, qui avait pris envers vous la responsabilité de faire appel à l'inconnu que j'étais. Car un ambassadeur, même présumé bon diplomate, peut se révéler, à l'épreuve, détestable orateur,—c'est-à-dire, en particulier, fort ennuyeux.

Vous me voyez donc aujourd'hui, à la fois très flatté de me retrouver en votre présence, à la demande de M. Montague; rassuré d'avoir affaire à un auditoire que j'ai motif de croire sympathique; et fort soucieux de ne pas le décevoir.

⁂

Now, Gentlemen, we have a saying in French that "the best jokes are the shortest"—"les plaisanteries les plus courtes sont les meilleures".

If I really want not to disappoint you, maybe I had better remember that I am in the Queen City, and revert at once to the Queen's English. I know, out of experience, that many of you will appreciate this reminder—"en passant"—of the nationality of your speaker for the day, and will enjoy, any time, a quick refresher course in the language of Rabelais. But there are those who are less conversant with it, and who would find it a long, flat joke if they had to sit out for half an hour of gibberish. Let them be reassured—The gentleman from Paris has not become mixed up in his speeches. No "snafu" has taken place in the secretariat of the French Embassy. I have not brought here my notes for an address to the Club Richelieu of Trois-Rivières. The joke—or the nightmare—is over.

⁂

When Mr. Fletcher, of your Speaker's Committee, wrote to me in December last, he indicated, I quote him, that "while the Algerian question receives much publicity in the daily papers, there is probably too little understanding of the problem surrounding the question". Unquote. I could not agree more! Indeed, I am inclined to find, in those words of Mr. Fletcher, an exceptionally good example of that celebrated and so justly admired, English institution, the "understatement".

Everybody, nowadays, speaks about the Algerian issue, and a great many people have theories on the subject, theories which they sometimes even think are their own, which they believe they have devised all by themselves, and which they expound vehemently. But, if you scratch ever so little under the surface of those brilliant professions, you are surprised to find the depth of ignorance of the most elementary facts of history, and even of geography, which lurks in the minds of those passionate orators; and you are also alarmed at the amount of insidious, subversive propaganda which they have inadvertently, unconsciously imbibed, and for which they themselves have become as many sounding boards and loud speakers—thus snow-balling nations and ideas which are not only factually false, but actually dangerous for the very causes to which they are devoted.

I shall, with your permission, devote the short time at my disposal to expose some of those errors and to place before you, *not* a rosy picture of a situation which is *not* rosy, nor a plea for theories systematically opposed to so many others now prevalent (just for the sake of contradicting them, because they are not favourable to the French official position on the subject); but an exposé, as objective as possible, of the elements of a problem of great seriousness, and of great importance to the whole world, together with an indication of the methods by which it is hoped, to prepare, and to help, their solution.

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My first preoccupation will be to recall a few basic data, with which I know that an audience like yours is already familiar, but which need to be re-formulated, in order to put the whole issue in perspective.

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ALGERIA is part of NORTH AFRICA. Just what is NORTH AFRICA?

It should be noted, that the accepted sense of this expression, in the current language of today, does not apply, as one might expect, to the whole length and breadth of the northern part of the African continent, which would include Egypt, and Lybia. When people speak of North Africa, they really mean, most of the time, what used to be called, up to three years ago, before Tunisia and Morocco reached their independence, "*FRENCH* North Africa", which embraced all three territories of an ensemble divided, from West to East, among Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. It can no longer be called "*FRENCH*" North Africa, from a political point of view; but that ensemble, and the populations who live in it, have received from France such an imprint, physical, intellectual and cultural, that the name does still apply very fittingly to the three territories, considered as a whole. And, in many ways, especially inasmuch as their geography and history are concerned, they actually do make up some sort of a unit.

* * *

In that context, we can say that North Africa is a generally mountainous region, the north-western corner of the African continent between the Atlantic Ocean on the West, the Mediterranean on the North, and the great Sahara Desert on the East and South—a region whose character and unity identify themselves with the development, from West to East, of the Atlas mountain range. Wherever you go, in any direction, outside of the complex of mountains, high plateaus and valleys of the Atlas system, you find the sea, or the desert. So that, geographically, you could not have a more striking unity than that which the Atlas range of mountains confers upon that area.

Historically, it has been rather sparsely inhabited, from time immemorial, by Berber tribes. It has been heavily colonized, in the past few centuries, from the East, by the Arabs, and, in lesser numbers, beginning a hundred and twenty-eight years ago, from the North, by the French.

Fundamentally, I believe that this extremely concise definition of North Africa is correct, and brings in the essential elements, in terms of space, and of time.

And therein lies the whole story.

* * *

The invasion of the land of the Berbers by the Arabs

— a people, mind you, without any previous link of race, of language, of religion, or otherwise, with the autochthonous Berbers, began in the seventh century. Then, it was that, at the call of the Prophet of Islam, Mohammed, they sprang forth from their native land, Arabia, an arid peninsula in the South West of the Asiatic continent, and set out to conquer all the known world of their times.

They swept the whole of the Northern part of the African continent, crossed the straits of Gibraltar, strongly established themselves in the whole of the Iberian Peninsula, that is, Spain and Portugal, subjugated the Christian populations there, and began to invade the rest of Europe. They were stopped in France, near the city of Poitiers, and were driven back to the other side of the Pyrenees. But they stayed for eight centuries in the Spanish-Portuguese Peninsula, before they were forced back to Africa. Those first Arab invaders were in relatively scant numbers, and it was not until the Fourteenth century that a second wave established itself in force in the lands which now make up Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

Those conquerors did very little to increase the prosperity of those lands, or even to organize them politically. Save for a brief attempt of the Turks to set up, from Istanbul (that is Constantinople), some sort of administration, most of the territory was, most of the time during modern history, and up to the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, left to a perpetual state of intertribal warfare.

The tribes, Arab or Berber, had for chief source of means, apart from a very primitive sort of agriculture, the raising of meagre cattle, mostly sheep. There were, of course, periods of flourishing empires, chiefly in Morocco, and of brilliant civilization. But they were, on the whole, short-lived, and changed in rapid succession with periods of chaos in between. Such was the situation at the end of the Eighteenth, and the beginning of the Nineteenth Centuries, when North Africa was known chiefly for the depredations of the so-called "Barbary Pirates" on European and American shipping in the Mediterranean.

The American Admiral who left his name to quite a few places, and telephone exchanges in the States, and also to your former Vice-Premier, Minister of Trade C. D. Howe, Admiral Decatur, won his fame in the Mediterranean in encounters with those "Barbary Pirates".

It was about that time that the French Monarchy was gradually drawn, beginning in 1830, into the tremendous undertaking of the conquest of Algeria, which kept France busy for decades, and proved to be a task not only of pacification, but mostly of overall economic and social improvement of the country. That task grew constantly over the years, and finally developed, also, into the transformation of the two neighbours of Algeria: The Regency of Tunis, on the East; and the Sherifian Empire of Morocco on the West. Stimulated by the influx of French settlers, both soon began to become modern States.

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Of the three territories, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, I believe that there can be no doubt that the one where the most remarkable achievement was accomplished is Morocco. This was due, partly, to the fact that we benefited, in that latest of the three enterprises, of the experience of the two others; partly to the fact that we also had the benefit of modern means of action, which had not been available previously. But perhaps the most important factor was the genius of the founder of modern Morocco, Marshal Lyautey.

In all the countries, the tremendous amount of work accomplished by the French Army and civilian administration on the one hand, and by the French settlers on the other hand—most of them agricultural settlers, "colons" as they were called—resulted in an extraordinary enrichment of the country and of its peoples. The Berber and Arab populations grew threefold, and, at the same time, their standard of living was improved, on the whole, in the same proportion.

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From a political point of view, France was faced in North Africa with three wholly different legal situations.

Algeria was, as I said, pure chaos, when we first tackled the job of pacifying it back in 1830. There was no State, no Unique Ruler, not even a real Confederation of Tribes, and there never had been in the entire history of the country. There was an agglomeration of tribes constantly warring among themselves, contracting ephemeral alliances for the purpose of warfare, as quickly dissolved as they were formed—a most primitive state of affairs, politically, economically and in every other respect. Islam was the only common factor there, and the social situation was far below the standard that modern Islam requires.

When, fifty years later, France found that the excellent results of her action in Algeria, both from a human and from a material point of view, were being threatened by devastating inroads from neighbouring tribes in Tunisia, she sent troops into that country, and a treaty was concluded with the Bey of Tunis which established a French Protectorate over Tunisia. But France then found that she was dealing with a former Province of the Ottoman Empire which had broken loose. Weak as the central power was, there was a State, with a Sovereign, the Bey, and a feeble, but organized, government.

And, again, when, at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, France found it necessary for the safety of her Algerian establishment to take a strong hand in the country to the West—she found a similar situation—a very weak central power, but a Sovereign—the Sultan—and at least the outward appearance of a government. She signed the Treaty of Fez, by which her Protectorate was established over the Sherifian Empire in 1912.

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Now, Tunisia and Morocco never were colonies, but Sovereign States, whose link with France was one of "Protectorate", which has none of the characteristics of a colonial status, and is nothing more than a partial, and temporary, delegation of sovereignty.

As to the factual aspect, it should be noted that, under French rule, both Tunisian and Moroccan nationalist parties were requesting, for the native populations, modern rights and liberties which those populations had never enjoyed before our arrival. We had already established part of those rights and liberties, at the time when independence was granted, and were then in the process of establishing others. We were also preparing the population gradually to enjoy them all. Finally, it should be said that some of those liberties were not in keeping with the traditions of those peoples, so that they were divided among themselves as to the desirability of obtaining them.

Tunisia and Morocco have had their complete independence for three years now, and it is now entirely up to them to accomplish such reforms as they may think fit. I would like to note that they are not going any faster about it than we were.

As for Algeria, the case was, and still is, different.

It may be difficult for foreigners to realize it, in view of the violence which has recently signalled the situation there, but it is a fact that, up to two years ago, up to the first of November 1954, to be precise, the history of the relations between the two elements of the population had been, on the whole, over a century and a half of existence, exceptionally happy and harmonious. It was, indeed, a matter of great pride for France that she had succeeded in doing what no other country had been able to accomplish: that is, to make possible, and easy, and highly profitable to both elements, the co-existence of important masses of population of Berber, Arabic and European races, of Christian and Moslem faiths, and of languages as essentially different as the Berber dialects, Arabic and French.

It should be noted, by the way, that those settlers, those "colons", who were the force through which largely these three countries acquired such a phenomenally rapid development—a development which was not only for the good of the newcomers, but by which the original population benefited tremendously, have not, all of them, made fortunes, far from it.

It is, of course, easy to pretend that the native Arabs profited less than the newcomers. But that requires a lot of qualifications. First, a large number of the former inhabitants have actually become rich together with some of the newcomers. Among the newcomers, by far the larger portion never became rich at all. They just work for a living, as do the Arabs and Berbers; and it is hard to say, taking into account, as one must, the habits of both groups, which is the better or the less well-off.

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I was telling you, a moment ago, that we had had reason to be especially proud and happy, until only three years ago, about the political situation prevailing in Algeria.

Why, then, will you say, did a rebellion break out there?

It broke out suddenly, like a bolt from blue sky, on the exact date of November 1st, 1954. Nothing in the days, months, and years before, had indicated that such a movement was being prepared.

In the night between October 31st and November 1st, of that year, in thirty-three different spots, covering practically the whole map of Algeria, scenes of violence broke out; bridges were blown up, people were slaughtered, trains were derailed, at points several hundred miles apart.

An event like this reveals the existence of a strong organization, of a central command, of great secrecy of its operation, of important means of communications: not a bit a spontaneous uprising, but a coolly, methodically engineered plan of subversion.

And, since that day, the revolt has been growing slowly, showing nowhere signs of any public enthusiasm, but the steady work of agents carrying out a carefully planned mission.

I said: no public enthusiasm. I should rather say that *terror*, in its most naked, horrible form, has been taking place, as the principal, and in almost all instances as the only means of political action.

This fact has finally become known all over the world, especially now that it has been receding in such striking fashion; whereas there were more than two hundred terrorist assaults in Algeria in December 1956, there was only one this last December. But you should carefully note that out of every ten victims of those assaults, counted from the beginning, nine have been Arab or Berber Moslems, against one Christian of European descent.

And there you have the hallmark of terrorism. The terrorist agents who are operating in Algeria have not been instructed to kill French people, so much as they have been expected to alienate their Moslem Brethren from the French; for that is the aim, the overall political aim, of the master minds—most of them not Algerians—who have really been planning and directing this movement. They want to sever all ties of mutual respect and affection, between the two elements of the population, so that the influence of the French, that is, the influence of the West, may be completely driven out of the country.

It may have been thought, at first, that their goal was to drive out all the Western population by terrorizing them. And these leaders may well, in fact, have harboured for some time that ambition. But they seem to have realized, at some stage, that they failed to arouse a general revolt of the Moslem population, and that it would be very difficult, short of such a revolt, to achieve, by direct acts of terrorism, the mass exodus of all Christians of European descent from Algeria. So they turned against their own people with that unbelievable savagery which is now known to the whole world, and has thoroughly discredited the movement—especially now that it has failed to accomplish its purpose.

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The reaction of the French Government of the time, to the events of the end of 1954, and of 1955, was extremely slow. It did not seem to realize, or to bring itself to believe what was happening, and took, in the beginning, very little action to control the rebel movement, rather expecting it to subside of its own accord. For a whole year or more, very few reinforcements were sent to Algeria. And there you find further proof of the purely artificial character of the rebellion at the beginning. If it had been genuine, if it had been a case of an exasperated population, unable to stand for one more day the rule of the French, the whole thing would have ended in a few weeks, in a horrible blood bath; for the million and more Christian French living in the country were almost totally defenceless. But it took more than a year, of terror affecting the Moslem population, of arms smuggling, of enormous spending, of radio broadcasts from abroad, of incessant meddling and tampering from the countries to the East, to whip up the rebellion into a movement large and dangerous enough to compel the French government, as late as March 1956, to awake to the emergency and take on the job of restoring order.

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The time has now come to us to look into the profound causes of the rebellion. And, if we want to find them, we must not look for them so much in Algeria itself, as elsewhere, and, in fact, all over the planet. For it should have become quite clear now, that what has happened in North Africa is not an isolated phenomenon, motivated by crass "colonialism" and oppression by the French, but that is only one of the latest, most violent, and most important manifestations of a world-wide movement, which has affected, in various forms, all five continents since the beginning of this century, and which has found a tremendous source of acceleration in each of the two World Wars.

May I just dispel the absurd notion, so eagerly spread by propaganda, and so easily swallowed by so many people, especially on this continent, according to which the troubles with which France has been faced over the last years, in Indochina and in Africa, have had their main, if not their only, cause, in her "colonialist" abuse of the peoples living in these lands, over which her influence held away? I would not, of course, pretend that there has never been any abuse on the part of the French, privately or publicly, in their conduct on their relationship with those populations. But I would certainly maintain, not only that most other countries which were, at one time or another, and in so many various fashions, involved in some form of colonialism, have been guilty of similar abuses; but mostly, that France has also brought with her, wherever she has set to work outside her own frontier, especially in the last century and a half or so, a wealth of human interest, of generosity, and of constructiveness, which has been unequalled anywhere else.

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The enterprise of France in Algeria is one aspect of that great movement, which urged the great maritime powers in Europe, from the 15th century down, to undertake their great adventures, and which, at the same time, launched Tsarist Russia into the "conquest" of Siberia, the United States into the "conquest" of the West, the Canadians into the "conquest" of the North, and the Brazilians into the development of their fantastic hinterland. It is not, as is so widely believed, a Western European phenomenon, but a general one, belonging, in a way, to the biological history of the peoples. It is often in an artificial fashion, and even, let us have the courage to say it—it is often in a hypocritical fashion, that distinctions are made between the Powers described as "colonial", and the others. In that universal race for expansion, each of the participants acted in accordance with the general manners and customs of the period, which were not the same in the 16th, 18th and 19th centuries, and which, today, are again different; and it is also worthy of remark that each acted also in accordance with his own national temperament. In each period, and everywhere, there were the winners and the losers in these enterprises. Even in the territories called "new", even in the territories least populated, the conquerors never found a totally empty space; everywhere, the first, the original inhabitants, had to suffer, sometimes cruelly, from the invasion of the newcomers. In certain countries these native people were extremely numerous. In others, they were thinly scattered. Let us admit that it was often in the countries where the people were the fewest that they suffered the most, perhaps because it was easier to dominate them; and let us recognize also that the civilization and the state of mind and intentions of the newcomers determined the manner in which the first inhabitants were treated. I mean, to speak frankly, that the least which one may say is that the property rights, the liberty, and even the lives, of these, were no more spared in the Siberian Steppes, on the plateaus of the Matto Grosso, in the Amazonian forests, or on the North American prairies, than in the subcontinent of India or in the mountains and the valleys of French North Africa, or in French Western or Equatorial Africa. And I may say, also, that one can establish, as an indisputable fact, that the Arabs and Berbers of North Africa, and the negroes of French Sudan and Guinea, saw their numbers grow, and their standard of living rise, in extraordinary proportions, while in other continents, the impact of western civilization had, on the contrary, and until very recently, catastrophic consequences for the native minorities. The ideas and customs of the Western peoples have evolved profoundly in the past four centuries. Even the most civilized peoples were capable, not so long ago, of conduct which, today, would seem to us unbelievably hard with regard to the less evolved peoples. And, on the other hand, each carried, in the pursuit of its enterprises, a philosophy, an ideal, and feelings, and methods, peculiar to themselves. One may see the results. France has reason to be particularly proud of her work overseas, and you have already understood that most of the comparisons which can be made in this domain today are—very largely—I will not say to her *ADVANTAGE* (since it is not proper or necessary, to belittle anyone in order to appear better), but to her *CREDIT*. Let us admit the evidence: nowhere has France ever attempted, or even considered, to exterminate, nor has she sought to deprive or displace, the populations which she found in possession of any territory; she has never displaced them to make room for her own nationals; she has placed her own people among them, or beside them; she has scrupulously respected their beliefs and their customs; she has made a great effort to instruct them, to raise their level spiritually, intellectually and materially; and, by and large, she has succeeded.

Can all of the peoples of the West who have encountered primitive populations, or civilizations different to their own, say as much? And who wears that "colonialist" tag? It does not matter who wears the tag. What matters is what they have to show for their work: dispossession, or enrichment of the natives? Decrease, or increase, in their numbers? Dereliction of those human brethren—or their emergence as modern, responsible communities in their own right?

CONCLUSION

Let us now come to the conclusion of this discussion of the Algerian problem. I am afraid that it may already have seemed long and tedious to some of you—while others may feel that so much, that, that would have been of importance, has not even been touched upon.

I believe that both are right. I apologize to the first, and beg others to consider that it is impossible to compress even the essentials of such a subject within forty minutes or so.

Now, there are those who say: Well, maybe you are not, after all, colonialists, imperialists, tyrants and bloodsuckers. Maybe you have helped those Moslem people in Algeria to develop the country, to achieve an infinitely better standard of health, and a higher standard of living, socially and economically, and to attain a satisfactory degree of political evolution. Maybe it would be an injustice, maybe it would be an iniquity, to say to those Christian French, to those European French, in Algeria, "Go home", when they have no home but there—just as it would be fantastic to have anyone tell the French-speaking Canadians or the English-speaking Canadians: "Go home and leave this country to its rightful owners, the Indians, whom you dispossessed over the two or three last centuries. Maybe you are more in the right than we thought, or had been led to believe!"

"So what?" "What are you going to do about this situation? Keep fighting indefinitely that rebellion, fed from the outside, by countries whose power and influence are growing all the time? Don't you think you had better quit? You are spending your money, you are diverting young men from their normal economic function in France. And, finally, you are neglecting your duties to the Atlantic Alliance. Be reasonable, do not cling to an empire which is a thing of the past, which no longer is anything but a glorious dream. Be realistic. Let go! For your own sake, and for that of your friends. You are alienating from us all the Arab countries, and you are making us live dangerously. Pull out."

Gentlemen, the answer to all this well-meant, benevolent, and oh! so wise advice, is simple and short. It is true, that, while extraordinarily prosperous, economically, France is experiencing dire financial troubles because of the Algerian rebellion. It is true that she is making a tremendous effort in keeping nearly 400,000 troops in North Africa. It is also true that Algeria, from a financial and an economic point of view, will remain, even after peace is restored, a terrific drain on her resources, because it is not a rich country, and because its Moslem population is extremely proliferous.

But that is all we can admit. When we are told that we are neglecting our duties to NATO, we think it is a foolish thing to say. Because Algeria is part of NATO territory. Because the Southern bank of the Mediterranean was, in the Second World War, the springboard, from which the Allied Armies started the re-conquest of Europe. Because it then proved to be the key to the safety of Western Europe, and therefore of the Western World.

Suppose we could set apart all other considerations. Suppose we could forget the twelve hundred thousand European French. Suppose we could forget about the nine million Moslems to whom so much that is not self-interest attaches us, but, rather, affection and devotion, and a sense of duty, of mission, yet unfulfilled. Suppose we could forget all about this — to "let go" of Algeria would be the most unrealistic thing that we could do. For such a forfeit, not only we, but everybody on our side, would pay very dearly, and maybe in very short order.

We were told just the same thing when we were fighting communism in Indochina—until the Korean war broke out! And then we were begged to stay on, and keep fighting. And when it proved too much for us to hold the weight of that war at arm's length on the other side of the globe, it was not even realized, apparently, that if the Southern half of Indochina, and Cambodia, and Laos, and Thailand, are still with the West, it was due to the sacrifice which we made there, all alone, and in the midst of suspicion and abuse from the Communists all over the world, and from a great many of our friends also.

There are those who whisper into our ears: "Leave Algeria, and a friendly Federation of pro-Western countries will sprout there overnight." "Now," we ask: "Are our friends really ready to accept that gamble?"

Beware! The West cannot have France lose that battle. No one is more eager than France to see the end of it. But it just cannot end in defeat. The West cannot afford it. And as long as the rebellion is active, it will have to be checked, just as the Kikuyu revolt in Kenya had to be checked.

But the future can be bright indeed, once violence is over.

I wish to affirm here that, apart from her well-known position in the Algerian affair, the greatest desire of France is to restore a climate of confidence with the two new independent States in North Africa—Tunisia and Morocco—and a collaboration as fruitful as that which marked these relations for so many decades. They, too, never stop saying that they share this desire, and we believe that they are sincere. One day, and we hope that day will be soon, this situation will exist, for the good of these countries, for my country, and for the whole world.

The same remark goes also for the countries of the Near East, with which we have so long maintained such close relations—an association which has been, mutually, so beneficial. The day will come, I trust, when the violence and unrest of the present period will disappear, and when our relations may be restored to the happy atmosphere which has traditionally characterized them.

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But it is not through a weak policy, of meeting violence with meekness, of answering aggression by abandonment, that we are going to witness a spontaneous improvement of our own situation, or of the situation of the West. Things just do not happen that way. A cease-fire, then really free elections, then a new status freely discussed with authentic representatives of all sections of the population of Algeria—Arab, Berber, Jewish, European, Moslem and Christian, and then, maybe a true Federation of France and of the whole of North Africa, in the interests of peace, freedom and prosperity for the Western World, is what we are striving for.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. James S. Duncan, C.M.G., LL.D.

"AUSTRALIA, CANADA AND THE EMPIRE"

An Address by

H. LEON TROUT, F.A.S.A.,
President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Australia

Thursday, March 27th, 1598

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. W. H. MONTAGUE: The name of our Club makes it abundantly clear that we have a special interest in guest speakers from other parts of the British Empire. All too seldom do we succeed in having our invitations accepted by them in circumstances when we can receive them. This is largely a problem of timing.

It follows then that we are particulalrly delighted today to be able to extend the warmest of welcomes to Mr. H. Leon Trout, F.A.S.A., who hails from the Commonwealth of Australia. He is accompanied by several compatriots who are associated with him on the Queensland Investment Mission of which he is the deputy leader. We receive all of these gentlemen with the utmost cordiality.

Mr. Trout is President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Australia and, from 1953 to 1956, was President of the Brisbane Chamber of Commerce. A lawyer and Fellow of the Australian Society of Accountants, he is the senior partner of Trout, Bernays & Company. He is either the Chairman or a Director of several companies engaged in the hotel business, in the metal industry, in manufacturing, and other activities.

He is a Director of Norwich Union Insurance Company and of Chevron Queensland Limited; a Past President of the Australian Automobile Association and of the Royal Automobile Club of Queensland; as well as Past President of Queensland National Art Gallery Society and of the Queensland Literary Self Aid Society for the Blind.

World War II found him on active service overseas in New Guinea as a member of 75 and 77 Squadrons of the R.A.A.F. He is a former officer of the Queensland Scottish Highlanders Regiment.

From his broad background as a soldier, airman, lawyer, accountant, businessman extraordinary and effective community worker, Mr. Trout will now address us on the subject, "Australia, Canada and The Empire".

Gentlemen: Mr. H. Leon Trout, F.A.S.A., President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Australia.

MR. H. LEON TROUT: Colonel Montague, may I thank you very much for your very warm welcome.

One humorist has said that the peak years of mental activity must be between the ages of four and eighteen, because at four we know all the questions, and at eighteen we know all the answers. I shall answer many questions which have been asked during our visit to Canada.

What sort of place is Australia? It is a very interesting country and has many unusual attractions.

How big it is? It is nearly three million square miles —almost equal to the United States. Its population is ten million, yours is eighteen million . . . 3.2 persons per square mile, yours is 3.8 per square mile. In some parts it is sparsely populated, in others it is populated up to 36,000 people per square mile.

It is estimated that Australia can comfortably provide for forty million people, with the same standard of living as exists today. Other people have estimated that Queensland alone could take forty million people comfortably, and that Australia could handle up to a hundred and fifty million people. Our standard of living is high. We have a very sound government, led by Mr. R. G. Menzies, and we have a very stable economy.

We have television, drive-in theatres, super markets, and large modern stores, similar to yours.

Have we any provinces? No, we have States which are very similar and Mr. Morris, the leader of the Mission, is our Deputy Premier, known to you as Deputy Prime Minister of Queensland.

What sort of climate has Australia? It is a land of sunshine with no extreme cold. In some places and for a few months it can be hot, especially in Central Australia, but generally it is Californian weather. Rainfall averages about 47 inches to 25 inches in the capital cities, and from 12 inches in Central Australia up to 100 inches and sometimes more in North Queensland and in Tasmania.

The cost of living is very low, especially for retired people, and your currency can purchase two or three times as much as ours.

We have large cities. Melbourne has a population of two million, Sydney, a million and a half, and Brisbane, five hundred and fifty thousand.

What does Australia produce? In the primary field, wool, to the value of 350 million pounds. We have 136 million sheep. We produce 750,000 tons of beef, 492,000 tons of sugar, and all the other primary products, such as wheat, butter, cheese.

Have we any minerals? Yes, everything but oil, and we hope that we will discover oil in the near future. We produce one and three-quarter million tons of pig iron, very cheaply, because of our high iron ore content. Recently, a very large bauxite deposit was discovered at Weipa which will involve a capital investment of 300 million dollars. We have plenty of coal, good, open cut, rich coal. We have one mine with an estimated deposit of 200 million tons. We are spending 800 million dollars on the Snowey River Project, which is a Hydro-Electric plus Irrigation Scheme.

Unemployment figures are low. In February we had approximately 13,000 people unemployed, from a total work force of 2,775,000, which to the mathematically minded would show a percentage of less than .5.

Taxation? Company taxes are approximately 7 and

6d. on the pound, and personal income tax is a maximum of 66-⅔ per cent.

We are a healthy nation, with one of the lowest death rates in the world . . . 9.13 per 1000, as against the United Kingdom of 11.7 per 1000.

What can we offer by way of tourist attractions? Almost everything you want and some things other countries have not. For instance, we have the great Barrier Reef, a tropical under-water exotic garden, with coral and fish blending their colours in a way which must be seen to be believed. It is one of the Seven Wonders of the World. We have miles upon miles of white, sandy beaches, blue water and warm sun where you can swim all the year round. Fishing—marlin, shark and other game fishing . . . coral trout, estuary fishing, or still water fishing in abundance. Shooting? Kangaroos, wallabys, wild pigs, buffalo, crocodiles, and you can ride on the backs of turtles if you wish. You can see the kaola bear—it is an inoffensive creature. They cry like a baby when they are injured. We have the platypus and the emus, which are very similar to ostriches.

And the Aborigines will give you corrabarre . . . in other words, dances and songs with spear and boomerang throwing . . . very similar to the modern Rock'n-Roll, but with more imagination. You can see Central Australia with the natives in their original state, with their interesting and fascinating customs.

Hotels are good, if you know where to go. The first class hotels are in the city areas but, like most other countries, they are not so good in the undeveloped areas. You can stay at these hotels for about a third of the price of other countries.

Why did we come to Canada? Firstly, we wanted to learn more about your country and your people, and to get first hand information about your most remarkable growth since the war.

Secondly, to encourage mutual tourist traffic from Canada to Australia and from Australia to Canada. Jet aircraft will bring you from Canada to Australia in twelve to fourteen hours in twelve months time.

Thirdly, to encourage mutual trade in investment between our two countries. Why? Because we believe that Canada's future and Australia's future are very closely interwoven and that they will be more and more dependent on each other as time goes on, for we have much in common.

In one century we have built nations from a wilderness. We believe in the dignity of work, and the satisfaction and independence which only work can provide. We ask for no favours which we cannot return. We do not believe that the world owes us a living or that other nations should help us in preference to others. We have confidence in our own country and faith in the freedom-loving countries of the world.

We are perhaps in a singular geographical position, for we are in the East but not of the East, we are of the West, but not in the West.

We believe that no nation can stand alone if it is to survive and maintain its many hard-earned freedoms.

And now, Gentlemen, may I ask you some questions?

One, do we believe that the future of this world depends upon the understanding and mutual co-operation of the English-speaking nations of the world? Your answer to that question is "Yes".

Two, how can the members and the peoples of the British Empire get closer to each other?

Three, is the time opportune for an elastic British Commonwealth Parliament, where the Prime Ministers and their Ministers could meet more regularly and exchange views more freely and more often?

Four, are the leaders of Commerce and Industry and Finance in these countries co-operating as closely and as regularly as they should?

Five, are the people of Canada and Australia and our sister countries seeing as much of each other and their countries and their people as they should?

Finally, are we looking too much at the ground upon which we walk and not to the distance beyond? Are we all thinking too much about our own country and no one else's? In other words, are we circumscribed in our thinking, and limited in our minds by the territorial limits of our own domains?

Canada and Australia are so closely interwoven with the United Kingdom and the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations or, as we still prefer to call it, the British Empire, and our ties are so strong and interwoven and interknit, so deeply, that injury to one or the other must of itself hurt each member.

Who is to say that within the next century Canada may not be the strongest member of our family? Or who knows? It might be Australia. We all have a common bond which brings us so closely together and which we value even more than words can express. We both pay homage to our Throne and we respect and admire the majestic way in which our Queen so graciously reigns over her Empire, dispensing justice, freedom and charity. May God bless her and the members of the Royal Family.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Arthur H. Creighton, Chairman of the Board of Trade Club.

"SPUTNIKS"

An Address by

JOHN FREDERICK HEARD, M.A., Ph.D.,
Head of the Department of Astronomy and Director of the Dunlap Observatory—University of Toronto

Thursday, April 10th, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: Although Canada is not currently in the race to produce rockets and to successfully launch them into orbit in outer space, the fact is inescapable that the implications of the success achieved in this field by Russia and the United States have made such rockets our business.

When we read on the front pages of our newspapers that Russia proposes an agreement to prohibit the use of outer space for military purposes and an undertaking to launch rockets into outer space only in accordance with an agreed international program, provided that the United States will liquidate all foreign bases on territories of other countries, viz., in Europe, Middle East and North Africa, then it is surely time for Canadians to take notice and find out something about this very important subject.

To this end, we invited no less an authority than the eminent John Frederick Heard, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Astronomy, Head of the Department of Astronomy and Director of the David Dunlap Observatory of the University of Toronto, to address us today on the general subject of "Sputniks". We are grateful that he has honoured us by accepting and we extend a most cordial welcome to him.

Dr. Heard was born in St. Thomas, Ontario. He graduated from the University of Western Ontario in 1929 with a B.A. degree. He advanced to his M.A. in 1930 at McGill University and continued there until 1932 when he achieved his first Ph.D. in Physics. He then went to London, England, as an 1851 Exhibition Scholar and after two years, in 1934, he secured a second Ph.D. in Physics.

1935 found him an instructor at the University of Toronto. Then he was promoted to Assistant Professor, to Associate Professor and, in 1952, to Professor of Astronomy, Head of the Department of Astronomy and Director of the Dunlap Observatory—his present very important post.

When Canada was at war, Professor Heard laid aside his gown and went into uniform with the R.C.A.F. from 1940 to 1945. He served as a navigation specialist and staff officer and was demobilized as a Squadron Leader.

Dr. Heard's work in Astronomy is mainly in the field of stellar spectra with particular emphasis on the motions of the stars. From 1953 to 1954 he was President of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada. He is a member of the American Astronomical Society and of the International Astronomical Union.

As I said earlier, he will address us on the subject, "Sputniks".

Gentlemen: Dr. John F. Heard, M.A., Ph.D., of the University of Toronto.

DR. HEARD: I hope I will not be offending you if I assume that you are at this time a little confused by the international assortment of hardware and live stock which has been flitting this way and that way around the globe during the past six months. So, perhaps, I may take a few moments to catalogue the satellites to date before we discuss the nature of the satellites, their usefulness and to what further developments, in my opinion, they may be leading.

Let us think back. Sputnik I, the first satellite, launched October 4th, last year, by Soviet scientists, circled the earth essentially from pole to pole. This was a characteristic of the Russian satellites. They went nearly from pole to pole, so they could be seen over wide areas on the earth, circling in a period of about 96 minutes, at an average height of about 360 miles in the beginning. There were three distinct parts to this satellite that were in orbit. There was the satellite itself, which was a 23-inch sphere, weighing, according to figures given out by the Russians, 184 pounds. Then there was the rocket carrier which had launched this into its final orbit, and which must necessarily, therefore, be in orbit itself—a much larger object, presumably rocket-shaped. It has been established there was a protecting nose-cone which originally protected the satellite before it was separated from the rocket carrier.

There were three distinct objects. All three parts have now fallen to the earth. They presumably were destroyed by the entry into the fairly dense part of the atmosphere at a height of about ninety miles, where the meteors and the meteorites encounter enough atmosphere to make them glow and partly, if not altogether vapourize. The destruction of the rocket carrier was first and took place early in December. The fall of the satellite took place early in January and the nose-cone—no one knows when, but it is certainly down now. So Sputnik I has passed into history.

Sputnik II, also Russian, a one-piece affair, is rocket shaped. This was the one that carried the dog, Laika for biological experiments. This was a very heavy affair, weighing about 3.5 tons, probably 50 feet long, 7 feet in diameter—an enormous object. This is still in orbit. It went into a slightly higher orbit than the first sputnik. It has lasted somewhat longer. It is still in orbit. Launched in November, it is due down within the next few days.

Now, by a curious coincidence which I assure you neither your President or I had any foreknowledge of, this satellite in its dying stages is about to pass over Toronto or very nearly over Toronto, about the time I finish speaking—about 1.40. Now, I can't think of anything much more dramatic, so I will ask one of your guests, perhaps, to keep a lookout out the window because it is going to come from the southwest and pass toward the northeast.

Of course, I am joking. The chances of this coming down today are very small. The chances of it meeting the earth are very small. Actually, if anyone is concerned, and a few people have been concerned as to whether the satellite might conceivably do any damage, I would ask you to keep in mind, that every day about six meteorites, weighing perhaps a hundred pounds or more apiece, fall to the earth's surface, and there has only been one recorded instance of a person being hit by a meteorite. So I don't think we have to worry too much about these few satellites coming down.

Now, those are the Russian satellites. The American satellite, Explorer I, the United States Army one-piece rocket-shaped affair, about seven feet long, weighing about 31 pounds, was launched January 31st, at still greater height, an average height of 900 miles above the surface of the earth, a still longer circuiting period than being followed by radio signals and our own observations at the Observatory lead us to think that it will stay up for several years.

The orbits of this and other American satellites are more equatorial than polar, which means that they go around the earth more nearly in equatorial regions than over the poles. Consequently, they are, I won't say of less interest, but less likely to be observed by us here in Canada.

The second American satellite which is still in orbit is the Vanguard, which is United States Navy, two pieces this time. The satellite itself is the size of a grapefruit. The final launching rocket is about four feet long. It was launched on March 17th, a still higher altitude, an average height of about 1400 miles, a larger circuiting period and it is expected to stay in orbit for perhaps ten or twenty years, and its solar-charged batteries may last almost indefinitely and keep this satellite transmitting messages to the earth. We are also receiving the messages from this satellite. By messages I merely mean the sound of the transmitter.

The final one of the five is Explorer III. It is called the third because Explorer II misfired. It went to a sufficient height, apparently, but did not get in orbit, but it is reckoned apparently as Explorer II.

Explorer III is similar to Explorer I, on a lower orbit, average height of about 950 miles, and is expected to last only a few months.

Now such a recital as that may have raised some questions in your minds. One question is frequently asked: What keeps satellites on their repeated circuits? The answer is that no power is needed any more than a power is needed by the moon in its orbiting around the earth, or the earth, to keep it orbiting around the sun. The satellite was given an initial velocity at a sufficient height, nearly parallel to the earth's surface, so that a centrifugal force was developed which just balanced gravity. So we have now in these satellites going around the earth an exact balance between the natural centrifugal force tending to throw away from the earth, and the drag of the earth's motion which tends to keep them down. Such is the result of the balance of the satellite's motion. If this satellite is definitely out of the drag of the earth's motion there is no reason why it should not orbit indefinitely.

The second question is: Why have I talked about the average height of these satellites? The answer in general is that a satellite is on an eccentric orbit. That is to say it dips low on one side and rises high on the other side above the earth.

I have listed on the card behind me the maximum and minimum heights of the satellites, as they were at launching, and it is worth looking at for a moment.

	Min. Ht.	Max. Ht.	
Sputnik I	145 miles	575	3 months
Sputnik II	140 „	1020	5.5 „
Explorer I	219 „	1587	years
Vanguard	400 „	2400	decades
Explorer III	110 „	1735	months

You see that the Sputniks, the two Russian satellites, have had minimum heights of around 140 miles and then have risen to heights of 575 and 1020 miles at their greatest height.

Explorer I went higher, both as regards the minimum height of 219 miles, and the maximum of 1587 miles.

But Vanguard is the outstanding satellite to date in this respect. It went higher than any of the others. It never dips below 400 miles from the earth's surface and it rises about 2400 miles at the greatest height.

Explorer III is a sort of throw-back to a lower satellite —110 miles minimum height, and 1735 maximum height.

Now, on the card which is directly behind me, to give the idea of proportions there are the earth and the orbits of the Vanguard satellites drawn to scale. You see it dips fairly close to the earth at the closest approach, but it is getting to be a far distance at the greatest distance from the earth.

Now, another question: What brings satellites down at all? The answer is, these artificial satellites are not entirely outside the earth's atmosphere. The atmosphere falls off very rapidly, it is true, but there is still enough at a few hundred miles height to exert a drag which has the effect of causing the satellite gradually to lose height and to spiral towards the earth. The rate of fall is governed by both the average height and the minimum height, and so it is interesting to see what the calculations have been as to the lifetime of these satellites. They will last until the orbit has shrunk to a height of about ninety miles above the surface of the earth. Then they encounter atmosphere of such density that the acceleration downward is quite rapid and they can last only a few more days. The higher they start the less atmosphere they are encountering and the longer they will last before that shrinking takes place.

We see that Sputnik I lasted about three months. Sputnik II apparently is going to last about five and half months, because it is due down within the next few days.

Explorer I, according to our own observations would seem to have an expectant lifetime of some years, and the Vanguard satellite, a very small one, may be there for decades.

Rather an interesting idea, isn't it, to think if we can wait perhaps twenty years we may see a very small item in the newspaper that the Vanguard satellite is believed to have fallen to earth. We may talk about it to our grandchildren.

The nature of this downward spiralling is to cause the orbit to become first nearly circular. Then when it has become nearly circular the satellite spirals in fairly rapidly until it encounters this region of the atmosphere where the heat engendered will be sufficient to disintegrate it.

We have had one experience of that happening, namely, with Sputnik I. Dr. John Kraus of Ohio State University believes he detected and followed the break-up of Sputnik I by receiving the echoes of WWV radio time signals reflected from an ionized atmosphere trail which accompanied the disintegrating metal.

On the other hand, there were no absolutely certain observations of any visual meteors which resulted from the break-up of this first satellite. You may be sure, during the next few days intensive attempts are being made to observe, if possible, the break-up of the second Russian satellite. This is not just an academic point. This is of very practical importance because it is important for many reasons to know what happens to a satellite when it re-enters the atmosphere.

Now, I want to emphasize this, that the satellites are not merely scientific toys or demonstrations of prowess on the part of rocket experts. They are important scientific experiments. In fact, we can think of each satellite as comprising two classes of experiment. The first class of experiment involves the satellite as an experimental heavenly body, subject to the usual laws of motion of heavenly bodies, differing only from the natural bodies in that it is so close to the earth. To take one example, we have seen how orbit changes of satellites take place by virtue of the satellite being not entirely outside the vestiges of the atmosphere of the earth.

The rate at which these orbit changes take place, the shrinking of the orbit, is dependent on the amount of atmosphere up at those heights of one, two, three hundred miles. It is also dependent upon the mass of the satellite, the weight of it, the dimensions of it. So now if careful observations are made of this rate of shrinking of the orbit of the satellite, if we have the correct information about the size and the weight of that satellite, then it should be possible to investigate the density of the atmosphere at the various layers above the surface of the earth. This is something that is not very accurately known at the present time.

There are a number of agencies, both in the United States, Russia, and also in the United Kingdom, which are working very hard, continuously, on this problem of determining the changes in the orbit of these satellites as they come down to earth with just that in view. This is an attempt to investigate the upper atmosphere of the earth as to density.

It might be interesting to tell you a little of the preliminary results along these lines, because one of these agencies, the Smithsonian Physical Observatory, has already published very tentative results as a result of the fall of Sputnik I, the satellite proper. They have found, accepting the Russian data concerning the size and weight of that satellite, that they must attribute to the upper atmosphere a very much higher density than was previously thought to be the case. This is not terribly surprising, because previous knowledge of upper atmosphere of one hundred miles above the surface of the earth wasn't very accurate. However, they have established that it is several times denser than, say, the best guesses that have been made to date.

Now, here is an interesting point. If we take that information of the density of the atmosphere and apply it to the rocket carrier that accompanied the first satellite and to the rocket-shaped second Russian satellite, it is possible to make interesting computations concerning the weight of these rocket carriers. The Russians gave out their information on the size and shape of the spherical satellite proper, but they did not, for reasons which may have some military significance, give out the size or weight of the third stage of the rocket which carried the satellite up there and which was responsible for putting it in orbit and which itself must necessarily go into orbit. It isn't possible, however, to conceal the size of this rocket carrier, nor is it possible to conceal the size of the second Russian satellite, because we have observed these many times. Whenever they are in a twilight sky and pass near the Observatory the satellite can be observed and from the brightness one can make a pretty shrewd guess as to the size. It seems inescapable that the size of the first satellite rocket and of the second stellite itself was rather large, to put it mildly at least seven feet in diameter across, and about fifty feet long. This seems to be a conservative estimate. This is a big thing to have thrown up into orbit.

Now, if the scientists who are investigating the density of the earth's atmosphere have also determined the rate at which this fell, the only unknown quantity that remains in their equations is the weight of that rocket carrier. It seems that the weight of the first rocket carrier, the first satellite rocket carrier and of the second satellite itself was, to put it conservatively, three and a half tons. You remember that the Russians gave out a weight for the second satellite as 1150 pounds. It turned out later that this referred to the instrumented part of it and to the dog. It didn't refer to the rest of it. So apparently the Russians have been able to put into orbit all-up weights in the neighbourhood of three and a half tons.

Now, let us compare that with what the Americans have done to date. The all-up weight of their Explorer was about 31 pounds. In the Vanguard, the all-up weight of the two combined pieces was something over 50 pounds. So I think we must be impressed by the rather staggering ballistic effort that the Russians have demonstrated. This doesn't mean to say that American rocket experts have shown all they can do so far. This has been purely experimental. Nevertheless, based on demonstrations to date, I think we must say that the Russians have demonstrated a superiority, ballistically, over the American efforts of the factor of perhaps somewhere between ten and a hundred.

I have spoken of one part, one kind of an experiment, that falls into this class of observation of satellites from the ground. There are others and I think I will not detail them except to tell you that one kind of observation that can be made concerning just the way the satellite orbit behaves will give us information, it is hoped, about the shape of the earth. The orbit swivels around that way which is dependent upon the equatorial bulge. You recall we all learned in school that the earth wasn't a sphere. It flattens at the poles and bulges at the equator. The accuracy of the bulge is known by the geologists to within about a hundred yards. That seems accurate, but one Soviet geophysicist has estimated that with careful observation of satellite behaviour it may be possible to reduce this uncertainty to as little as five yards. It seems a remarkable thing that a little satellite, revolving around the earth, can eventually give us more information about the shape of the very earth we live on than we have been able to achieve in centuries of measurement right here on the surface.

One type of experiment is observation of the satellite as a heavenly body. The second class of experiment involves the use of satellites as instrument vehicles. We have all read that satellites are to a greater or less degree carrying instruments which measure such things as upper air temperature, cosmic ray intensity and the impact of micrometeorites. The results come in the form of coded variations of the radio signals sent out by the satellites.

As far as I know, the code can be interpreted only by the designers of the instruments, and it is rather hard to see how it could be otherwise at the present state of the experiment. There is every reason to believe both the American and the Russian scientists will publish their findings as they have agreed to do under the terms of the I.G.Y.

There is other information to be obtained on the study of satellites but these two classes are picked out to give you an idea of the versatility of the satellite experiments. Thinking of a satellite as a heavenly body that needn't have a radio at all, we can observe how it moves in the outer parts of the earth's atmosphere, how it is affected by the bulge of the earth, and the other part of the experiment involves using the satellite as a vehicle to carry instruments.

I think we can realize that the satellites offer almost unlimited opportunities to study the earth's atmosphere, the earth itself, and the radiations and particles coming from the sun and stars which are screened from the earth's surface by the rather dense atmosphere in which we live.

In order fully to exploit these possibilities I would think that many satellites will be launched on different orbits, orbits of different shape and size. Practice will make perfect the achievement of precisely the required orbits, and I doubt if very great accuracy has been achieved yet.

For astronomers there would be a considerable use for a permanent satellite of appreciable size placed in orbit at a height of several thousand miles so as to be essentially permanent. This would serve better than any natural heavenly body for testing any theories, including the theory of relativity.

To go a little further, in spite of all the opportunities provided by the present satellites, there is plenty to indicate that both American and Soviet scientists are impatient to get on with more ambitious space experiments. The experiment with the dog, Laika, was obviously directed toward manned satellite flight, but in this direction there are very difficult problems to solve—the problems of re-entry into the atmosphere without destroying the contents, and the problem of a soft landing on the surface of the earth. We can expect to see experiments along this line soon, I would expect.

Yet, to tell the truth, I find it a little difficult to understand what purpose would be served by a manned satellite flight. I suppose the critics of Columbus, the Wright Brothers, and Sir Edmund Hillary said the same sort of thing.

We also hear about flights to the moon—unmanned and manned. Among the proposals that have been discussed is, first, placing a small object on the moon. This would call for rockets of somewhat greater thrust and a good deal more accuracy than has been demonstrated so far, and, yet I have no doubt that it will soon be accomplished. I don't know what scientific end would be achieved by this experiment.

Secondly, sending a satellite on an orbit which will circle the moon and return to the vicinity of the earth. This, according to careful computations made by Soviet scientists, is possible and feasible. Conceivably, this might bring us a television picture of the back of the moon, the side of the moon that no one has ever seen, because, you know the moon turns always the same face toward the earth

Now, I wonder what those cameras will see? Will they see the same kind of craters and mountains and lava beds which we see on our side? Well, maybe more, because there is one important difference between our side of the moon and the far side of the moon. Our side of the moon, for millions of years has been subject to rapid coolings and equally rapid reheating that occur during a total lunar eclipse, when the moon enters the earth's shadow. That doesn't affect the far side. Many selenographers believe this has been an appreciable factor in modifying the surface of the moon, our side of the surface of the moon—rapid heating and rapid cooling, the cracking and the chipping of the lunar rocks. If this is the case perhaps we could expect that the far side of the moon would be considerably more rugged than our side of the moon, so it is conceivable that a picture of the far side of the moon may give us some really good clues as to the moon's history and development.

On the other hand, maybe the first ones around there will just see a big sign, saying, "Yankee, go home".

Man's flight to the moon with a landing on return to the earth is contemplated by some. Surely that is a long way off. The problems are of a completely different order of difficulty because this idea involves a payload to the moon which must include rockets to soften the landing on the moon, further rockets to take off from the moon, further rockets to soften the landing to the earth. The cost and the effort, I would think, of such a project would be prodigious and beyond present developments.

I think it would be foolish to prophesy that manned lunar voyages and even interplanetary voyages will not come about. The cost and the effort will certainly be fantastic and I believe it is proper at this time to ask, as some scientists are asking, if the results will repay the cost.

Even an astronomer—perhaps I should say especially an astronomer—should be sober enough to weigh the possible advantages of a brief landing on Mars against the dollar equivalent in research nearer home. I have heard many, astronomers particularly, express this view. However, perhaps we are going too far afield. I hope we will not lose sight of the hundreds of patient, skilful scientists who are now and who will be for years to come wresting some of the secrets of Nature from the vast accumulation of data from the present satellites, not to mention the man that we expect within the next year or so.

For the man on the street, satellites are, I am afraid, almost old stuff. For the scientists, the best part of the experiment is still to come—the result.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Bruce Legge, Vice-President of the Club.

“THE HOUSE OF COMMONS FROM THE SPEAKER’S CHAIR”

An Address by

THE HONOURABLE D. ROLAND MICHENER,
Q.C., B.A., B.C.L., M.A. (Oxford), LL.D., M.P.,
Speaker of the House of Commons in the
23rd Parliament

Thursday, April 17th, 1598

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: To-day it is our great honour and delight to welcome as guest speaker one of our own members, The Hon. D. Roland Michener, Q.C., B.A., B.C.L., M.A.(Oxford), LL.D., M.P., Speaker of the House of Commons in the 23rd Parliament who on 31st March last, was re-elected to represent the federal constituency of Toronto-St. Paul’s.

We offer him our warmest congratulations on his recent success at the polls and we take this opportunity to anticipate the 19th of April, his birthday, and wish him very many happy returns of that day.

Lincoln County, in Ontario, was the birthplace of Mr. Minchener’s parents, but they moved to Alberta two years before his arrival so he is a true son of the west. Politics come naturally to him as his father was Leader of the Conservative Party in the Alberta Legislature and later, from 1917 to 1947, was a Member of the Senate of Canada.

Senator Michener’s son, our guest of honour to-day, graduated from the University of Alberta with the Governor-General’s Gold Medal, a B.A. degree and a

Rhodes Scholarship. He studied at Oxford; collected another B.A., a B.C.L. and a M.A. from that great University; read law at the Middle Temple, London, ate the required number of dinners there and was called to the English Bar; returned to Canada and was called to the Ontario Bar, all by the time he was 23 years of age. Twenty years later he was appointed a Q.C. and, five years after that, the University of Ottawa honoured him with a LL.D.

From the time of his return from abroad, he continued on the practice of law in Toronto, until 1945, when he was elected to represent Toronto-St. David's in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. From 1946 to 1948 he built a great reputation for himself as Provincial Secretary of Ontario and member of the Executive Council of the Hon. George Drew.

He offered himself as a candidate in the federal constituency of Toronto-St. Paul's in 1949; was elected on his next try in 1953 and was re-elected, with emphasis, in 1957 and again this year. On 14th October, 1957, the House of Commons elected him its Speaker for the 23rd Parliament. The integrity and impartiality which he has displayed as "Mr. Speaker" have been commented from all quarters within and without the House.

Mr. Michener's professional success, his community activities and the many important directorships which he relinquished on becoming Speaker are well known to many in this audience. Suffice it to note that he continues his interest in the Toronto Western Hospital and that he retains the office of General Secretary for the Rhodes Scholarships in Canada.

He has chosen for his subject: "The House of Commons From The Speaker's Chair".

Gentlemen: The Hon. D. Ronald Michener, Q.C., M.P. for Toronto-St. Paul's and Speaker of the House of Commons in the 23rd Parliament.

MR. MICHENER: This welcome opportunity to speak to my fellow members of the Empire Club of Canada recalls to my mind a biblical text to the effect that "a prophet is not without honour, save in his own Country". Of course, I do not claim to be a prophet. At the moment I am more like a shepherd without my sheep, a Speaker with no House of Commons in the inter regnum between the 23rd Parliament which came to a rather sudden end at about 6 p.m. on February 1st, 1958, and the 24th Parliament which will have no powers until it meets on May 13th and the House of Commons elects its new Speaker.

Nevertheless, I feel doubly honoured, as the biblical prophet would have felt, to be welcomed here in my home country, as it were, and presented to my family group in such glowing terms.

As for the notable events of the "interregnum" as I have called it, which had their culmination on March 31st, I shall maintain a discreet and non-partisan silence; for I suspect that our description of those events would range all the way from calamitous to miraculous.

In the Speaker's Chair I became habituated to an attitude of political neutrality, so necessary to impartial decision. I did too, what I fancy former Speakers have done refrained from attending my Party's caucuses and from other Party activities not related to the organizations in the Riding of St. Paul's which I represent, and, incidentally which I continued to serve in all a member's many special activities on behalf of his constituents, except that of speaking for them on the floor of the House.

In trying, then, to observe the appearances, as well as the substance of political neutrality, I was following the promise which I made to the House at the time of my election as Speaker, in part in these words—

"My aim will be to understand and interpret the will and the moods of the house; to secure the transaction of public business in an orderly manner; to protect the minority; to enable every member to express his opinions within the limits necessary to preserve decorum; to prevent unnecessary waste of time, and above all to be non-partisan and impartial in my decisions."

When Parliament was dissolved I, like all the members, was back in the arena at least in my own Riding fighting for my political life as a party man against the official nominees of other parties. I mention this because it illustrates one difference between our Canadian practice of electing from the governing party a different Speaker at the beginning of each new Parliament alternating between one whose mother tongue is English and one whose language is French. In Britain for well over a century the Speaker has been re-elected as long as he is able to serve notwithstanding changes in the governing party. Usually, if not invariably, he is unopposed by other candidates in his own riding. There, the Speakership is a semi-judicial career undisturbed by the exigencies of party politics and followed on retirement by appointment to the House of Lords with a retiring allowance of $14,000.

In contrast only one Canadian Speaker has been re-elected since 1900 when the rule of alternation began. He was the Hon. Rodolph Lemieux who served through three Parliaments from 1922 to 1931. For the Canadian Speaker his occupation of the Chair for three or four years is but an incident, and interruption of his career as a party politician and some of them have gone on after being Speaker to serve as Cabinet Ministers with their party colleagues.

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS

(a) *In the Commonwealth*

Now let me say a word about the parliamentary system of government on the British model. As a club we are devoted to that great Commonwealth of Nations which was evolved so steadily and peacefully from the older British Empire and Commonwealth. Today it comprises the U.K. and the original British Dominions, five Asian countries and the new African country of Ghana and it will soon include the West Indian Federation, all independent and self-governing countries but freely associated together under the Crown.

The Crown is the symbol of our unity, but one of the strongest bonds which holds us together in the Commonwealth is the common possession and practices of responsible parliamentary government. This was brought home to me in 1954 when I was with a Canadian Delegation to an unofficial conference of the Nations of the Commonwealth held in Lahore, Pakistan. Strong representative delegations from India, Ceylon and Pakistan emphasised again and again, that the similarity of our parliaments and governments, differing somewhat in detail, but all modelled on the Mother of Parliaments, promoted the sort of sympathetic understanding which comes from the possession of a common language and traditions. I visited the Speaker of the Indian House in his Chambers. I saw the House of People in action, on budget day in fact, and apart from the darker skins, the great variety of costume and of language (in which English was the most generally understood) and the presence of far more women than we have ever had in our House, the scene and procedure were quite familiar.

In all of these Commonwealth Parliaments the House of Commons holds the ultimate power. It controls the purse and the Ministry. In all, there is the Government Party and the Official Opposition and an elected Speaker to act as referee.

When our Commonwealth legislators meet, as their delegations do every second year—last November they met in Ceylon—they begin on common ground.

(b) *In Canada*

In Canada we have our own version, transplanted here by our forefathers but adapted to our own soil and climate.

—the same Crown, worn by the Queen as Queen of Canada, but giving the same continuity, as governments come and go.

—a Senate corresponding to the House of Lords.

—and an elected and similar House of Commons in which the real power resides.

Government by Debate

Now let us take a look at the Canadian House in action, something which I expect many of you have done from the gallery if not from the Speaker's Chair. Basically parliamentary government, as the word parliament from the French verb "parler", implies, is government by debate, by organized discussion pro and con, leading to decision. From the Speaker's point of view his function as presiding officer is not to speak or express opinions but to referee this debate and to declare the result. This he does by the application of rules and practices developed over centuries of trial and error.

Our Rules of Procedure consist, now of 128 Rules. Our Standing Orders are our own, but so similar is our constitutional practice that Rule No. 1 provides—

> "In all cases not provided for hereafter or by sessional or other orders, the usages and customs of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland as in force at the time shall be followed so far as they may be applicable to this House."

These rules may be changed by majority vote, taken after proper procedure, and they may be suspended, at any time, by the unanimous consent of the House, but there must not be one voice raised in protest. Such consent is often given to speed the work of the House.

For example by tacit consent the House often sits a few minutes after the prescribed closing hour, to enquire from the Prime Minister, or the House Leader acting for him, as to the business of the next day. It was in this way that the P.M., Mr. Diefenbaker, rose immediately after 6 p.m. on Saturday, February 1st to make the expected announcement that there would be no next day, and no further business for the 23rd Parliament; because the Governor-General had accepted the advice of the P.M. and issued the writ dissolving Parliament. If there were time it would be interesting to relive those few minutes so tense with excitement and feeling—and to put it mildly—so harrowing for the Speaker, who felt it to be his duty, as soon as it was clear that the House had no further legal existence, to adjourn the controversy to the hustings.

Another example is the practice when passing Divorce Bills which come over by the hundreds from the Senate to give them their second and third reading in batches instead of individually.

If you sat with me for a day in the House you would see that there are three main kinds of proceedings:

1. Routine and other proceedings which are not debatable and are usually disposed of at the beginning of each sitting.
2. Formal debates on bills, motions and other specific subjects.
3. Proceedings in Committee of the whole House.

Fortunately the Speaker is off duty when the House goes into Committee and the Deputy Speaker presides. We can pretend today that we are not interested in what goes on then, even when the House is in Committee of Supply and voting away your tax dollars in great bundles.

Before dealing with the other two kinds of proceedings you might like to know how the House is "opened". The galleries are cleared and locked. The Sergeant-at-Arms in an Admiral's hat and tail coat comes for the Speaker with five stalwart policemen and one small page boy. He takes the mace, a great gilded affair weighing 22 pounds, from its resting place in my study. I fall in behind him and the Clerk and two assistants behind me and we step off smartly on the left foot and solemnly proceed in procession through the Hall of Fame and corridors to the front of the Commons. It is for all the world like being led off a prisoner. Certainly there is no escape for the Speaker no matter what awaits him inside. The division bell clangs through the stone corridors to summon the members and adds to the illusion of penal servitude.

There is the story of the old lady frightened by the division bell and the scurrying members who asked one of the guards why the bell was being rung. "I am not sure, madam, but it may be that one of the inmates has escaped."

Once in the chair, the mace is laid on the table, the Speaker reads the prayers, rather lengthy ones, for the Queen and the royal family and for divine guidance for those assembled there in their legislative capacities. Every second day I read the prayers in what passes for French, hoping that the good Lord is bilingual, even though some of the members are not. Incidentally, last Session at least 35 of the English-speaking members were taking regular instruction in French conversation. Then the gallery doors are opened, the public and the press file in; the late members take their places and with a loud call for "Order" the sitting begins. Hansard and the daily papers tell you what follows. I am sure that most of you read the latter and some may even read Hansard.

At Question Time one day Mr. Herridge, that inimitable member for Kootenay West whose cheerful wit must have saved him from the recent fate of many of his C.C.F. colleagues in B.C., asked the Secretary of State, the Hon. Ellen Fairclough, if she was aware that a great many more people were now reading Hansard and would she consider a reduction of the subscription price. She replied that she did not know any other way in which one could get so much instruction and entertainment for so little money.

I think it is true, and a wholesome thing that public interest in our parliament, was greatly stimulated by the visit of the Queen, to open parliament last October, the televising of the opening ceremonies and, if I may mention it, by a change in government, something new to electors who had been going to the polls for as long as twenty-two years.

ROUTINE AND NON-DEBATABLE PROCEEDINGS

As in any well ordered meeting, formal matters which are not debatable, are disposed of first; reports, introduction of motions and bills, corrections, courtesies and important announcements by the Ministry. These latter should be factual and not made an excuse for argument. Even so it has been thought fair to allow one spokesman from each opposition party to make a brief comment on any such statement by the government. I found that these exchanges could easily get out of hand. Tit for tat, and everybody wanted to get into the act. I found the best hope of stopping it was to come down heavily on one side or the other when the honours appeared to be about even.

To finish these routine proceedings the Speaker calls "Orders of the Day" which is the heading under which all the debatable business of the House is listed. This is the signal for a barrage of oral questions fired by the opposition members at the Ministers, usually without notice or warning of any kind. It is quite unprovided for in the rules, but hallowed by practice. In the last Parliament with 152 members in opposition against a government party of only 112, this period of oral questioning often lasted a full hour before it dried up, or the House grew weary of the fun. The daily average was about 30 main questions, not counting supplementaries. Some old parliamentarians shook their heads; but the fact is that the House would be a dull place for the press and the public as well as the members without some such outlet for their energies and zeal. The proof is that as soon as the questions finish and the House settles down to serious debate there is a general exodus from the floor and the galleries. Of course it is a difficult time for the Speaker who must try to keep both questions and answers within recognized factual limits and he must make many snap decisions and often be wrong in both directions. It might be better and lead to more constructive use of the time if advance notice in writing were required for every main question leaving the supplementary questions to provide the spontaneity. That is the practice in the British House of Commons which also puts a time limit on questions.

DEBATES

There is no need to weary you with talk of the formal debates. The rules are followed in all club and corporation meetings. From the Speaker's chair the main problems are:

to control the order of speaking and to assure to all their right to speak within the rules;
to stop members, except the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition when the allowed 40 minutes have expired;

to enforce reasonable relevance in the discussion—special leeway is given in "maiden speeches";
to stop abusive and unparliamentary language;
to secure a hearing and generally to preserve order and dignity;
and most important to bring the matter to a decision and to declare the result.

As you know debates cannot be interrupted except to raise current points of order or to raise matters affecting the privileges of the House of Commons or its members.

In all these proceedings the great and distinguishing virtue of our system is that there are always two sides, some times more than two. Each has its rights and its duties. The Government has the power. As long as it has the votes of the members it can direct the course of legislation, or taxation and administration, but it must submit to criticism, not casual criticism, but organized criticism.

The Official Opposition is as much a part of parliament as the government. The Leader of the Opposition is paid to oppose. At question time and in debate every private member has the right to question, to press for action, to criticise and condemn. The Ministers of the Crown, great as is their authority and their influence, have to defend and justify or appear as defaulters. Can anyone imagine a dictator submitting to such insolence. Or can anyone imagine a dictator surviving for long in such a milieu. Authoritarian government and parliamentary democracy are incompatable. The struggle today between East and West is a struggle between different philosophies and the institutions which express them. It may not be possible for both systems to survive. Perhaps both are on trial. We believe that our system is best adapted to serve our Christian view of the nature of man and his relationship to God, and is most likely to provide the free society in which the individual can personally attain his best development. We do well therefore, to try to understand, and when possible, to improve these inherited institutions.

In praising our House of Commons I have in effect declared my belief that responsible government in a parliamentary democracy depends on opposition, organized, recognized and supported by opinion both inside and outside of Parliament. Hockey fans will agree, that where there are two opposing sides, there must be a referee, or there will be confusion. With him, there may still be confusion, unless the referee is respected and supported by both sides. I ask you this question. Would a Speaker be more likely to deserve and hold that respect and support if he occupied his position permanently, as a career in itself, rather than as a brief episode in his life as a party man? It is a question which has been discussed much of late. In my opinion, formed after a rather short experience, the answer is yes. This is not to say that Canada has not been well served by a succession of conscientious and able Speakers. Since Confederation there have been 24 Speakers. Only the first, the Hon. James Cockburn, and the Hon. Rodolph Lemieux, who presided through three parliaments were elected Speakers for more than one parliament. It is at least arguable that they would have been able to display greater independence, and to develop more skill, had they been able to approach their duties as an end in themselves, much as a judge takes on his judicial role, for life and good conduct.

If the change were made I think that it would be desirable to abolish the right of the House to over-rule the Speaker by majority vote.

One difficulty is the principle of alternative election of English- and French-speaking members to the Chair as has been done since about 1900 with only one exception. The period of alternation would necessarily be longer but the principle could still be followed.

The new Parliament will be very different from the last, in which, as I have said, the government instead of the Opposition was in the minority. In the new House the Opposition will be smaller in numbers than ever before, but by reason of the strong endorsation of the government by the electorate this Parliament may be more tranquil, for a time, than its predecessor. But in the long run, the great preponderance of members on one side is likely to make the role of the Speaker more important and perhaps more difficult than it would be in a more evenly divided assembly. However, as I said at the beginning I do not claim to be a prophet, and I have detained you long enough, if not too long. May I close by thanking you for your hospitality and your interest in the House of Commons and its Speaker and the parts they play in our attempts at self-government.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Marvin Gelber.

ANNUAL MEETING

Thursday, April 24th, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT: This is the 26th and concluding meeting of the 1957-58 season. It is also the Annual Meeting at which our Constitution requires the President to render a brief account of the year's proceedings and an interim report from the Treasurer.

An audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year ending 30th April, 1958, will be published in the Year Book, so I ask you to accept, meanwhile, the assurance given to me by the Treasurer that, as the Club's income and expenditures are now running close to the break-even point, there is no reason to either anticipate a large transfer to surplus account or, on the other hand, to fear an operating deficit of serious proportions. I would like to note, however, that the amount presently charged for annual membership places very definite limitations on what can be accomplished by way of dressing up our meetings at Christmastime and on other special occasions.

This 55th year for The Empire Club has been an exciting one. Two federal elections, sputniks, and a complete absence of guest speakers from the British Isles are on the record. The continuing efforts of the Speakers Committee to secure speakers from abroad should be reflected during the season just ahead. The federal political scene has been stabilized. Earth satellites in orbit no longer astound us.

Two Past Presidents have passed to their reward—Mr. R. A. Stapells, whose year in office was 1919, and Mr. W. Eason Humphreys, who graced the Chair in 1943-44. May they rest in peace.

The final membership figure will, of course, be published in the Year Book. Best information presently in hand indicates a net increase of 47 for a total of 2448 members. As our casualties from all causes were 253, this means that our intake of new members was 300 which reflects another stout effort by our Membership Committee under the inspired leadership of Mr. Harold R. Lawson.

The Executive Committee met 8 times. All of its 32 members carried additional duties as members of one or more of the Standing Committees on Finance, Speakers, Membership, Constitution, Reception, Publicity, Head Table and Year Book, each of which met on its own as often as required. The excellent results speak for themselves. I am thankful for the strong support given and the valuable contributions of time and talent made by every Committee member.

As I made numerous exceptional demands on a particular few, I would like to record my especial gratitude to them as follows: to First Vice-President, Bruce J. Legge, for sound counsel in his exacting role as Vice-President; to Second Vice-President, Harold R. Lawson, for piloting the Membership Committee through a second unusually successful year; to Third Vice-President, Alexander Stark, for a sterling performance in charge of the Head Table and for 100 per cent attendance in so doing; to Secretary, Ernest Miles, for fulfilling the sometimes impossible, and for, this year, completing 9 years of 100 per cent attendance; to Treasurer, Walter W. Comber, for valuable guidance in financial matters; to Receptionists, Dr. Clarence B. Crummey and R. Ford Ralph, for gracious attention paid to Head Table guests; to Sidney S. Fletcher, Marvin Gelber, Ian S. Baxter, Royd E. Beamish, Col. Norman D. Hogg, Brig. William S. Rutherford, James H. Joyce and Arthur E. M. Inwood, for particularly stout efforts on the Speakers Committee; to Howard S. Mark for guiding our publicity programme; To Zac Phimister and Douglas Best for their kind behind-the-scenes but highly skilled activities in connection with our Year Book; to Honourary Auditor, H. T. Jamieson, for his invaluable year end contribution of time and professional know-how and to Immediate Past President, Donald H. Jupp, for his unfailing support in special situations.

I would also like to say a special thank you to Past President, Sydney Hermant, who, while not presently a member of the Executive Committee, has been most helpful in securing guest speakers.

Although I have made it crystal clear that the direction of the activities of The Empire Club is a long way from being a one man proposition, I have not yet mentioned the one priceless ingredient for success in having our invitations accepted by top calibre guest speakers. It is no more and no less than an established reputation for having every meeting attended by a large and responsible audience. This factor rests, to the greatest extent, in the hands of every individual member. Those who attend with reasonable regularity are the backbone of the Club in this respect and are to be thanked for a valuable contribution to whatever success we may enjoy.

A President's Report would be less than complete without special words of appreciation to the management and staff of the Royal York Hotel and of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. It would be impossible for us to meet the ebb and flow of attendance without the amazing co-operation of the Hotel, and the fact that we enjoy a large and appreciative radio audience at 7 p.m. on Thursdays, over C.J.B.C., is entirely due to the continuing generosity of our kind friends, the C.B.C.

I would also like to tell our great Pianist, Stanley St. John, that the many compliments we have received since he has presided at the piano are a tribute to him as an artist and certainly confirm our good fortune in his having accepted that post.

Finally, Gentlemen, it has been a great privilege to serve as your President for 1957-58. I am truly grateful for that honour and I bespeak continued support for my successor in office.

MR. JUPP: It gives me great pleasure to submit the report of the Nominating Committee and to submit the following names of Officers and Executive Members of The Empire Club of Canada for the 1958-59 Season: President: Mr. Bruce Jarvis Legge.

Mr. Legge was born in Toronto in 1919 and was educated in this City. He is a graduate in Arts from the University of Toronto 1941 and from Osgoode Hall Law School in 1949. He spent the summer of 1949 as a student in Political Philosophy at the Summer Course Oxford University.

Between graduating from the University and proceeding to Law School his career was interrupted by four and a half years' service in the Canadian Army, when the held various staff appointments in the field. He has remained active in the Reserve Army and is presently a major and second-in-command of 5 Column, Royal Canadian Army Service Corps. He passed Militia Staff Course in 1956 and was awarded the Efficiency Decoration in 1957.

Mr. Legge is a solicitor with the Department of Veterans Affairs and holds the position of a Pensions Advocate at Toronto District. Bruce Legge is married to a practising solicitor and they have three children. He is a life-long member of Westmoreland United Church and is active in many Associations, such as, The Canadian Bar Association, The National Ballet Guild of Canada, The Art Gallery of Toronto, The Canadian Institute of International Affairs and The Royal Canadian Military Institute.

He has qualified himself by loyalty, experience and devoted service to The Empire Club to hold its highest office and we are extremely fortunate that he has agreed to become President.

FIRST VICE-PRES.: Harold R. Lawson
SECOND VICE-PRES.: Alexander Stark, Q.C.
THIRD VICE-PRES.: Z. S. Phimister
SECRETARY: Ernest Miles
TREASURER: W. W. Comber, C.A.
HON. SECRETARY: R. Ford Ralph
ASST. SECRETARY: Dr. Clarence B. Crummey
HON. TREASURER: S. S. Fletcher
ASST. TREASURER: John W. Griffin
HON. AUDITOR: H. T. Jamieson, F.C.A.

Executive Committee:
Ian S. Baxter
Royd E. Beamish
Douglas Best
John L. Bonus
Controller F. Joseph Cornish, Q.C.
Marvin Gelber
Hon. Paul Hellyer
Lt.-Col. N. D. Hogg, M.B.E., E.D.
H. R. Jackman
J. Palmer Kent, Q.C.
A. J. Langley
Howard S. Mark
J. B. McGeachy
Dr. Jas. A. Parish
Brig. W. S. Rutherford, E.D.
J. R. Smeed
R. Bredin Stapells

Immediate Past President: Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague, O.B.E., E.D.

Past Presidents: James H. Joyce
Dr. C. C. Goldring
Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.

I nominate these gentlemen for the offices named.

THE CHAIRMAN: I instruct the Secretary to cast one ballot for the election of these gentlemen.

The Secretary has just handed me his ballot so I declare those nominated are elected as officers and members of the Executive Committee for 1958-59.

“THE UNIVERSITY AND THE CITY”

An Address by

CLAUDE THOMAS BISSELL, M.A., Ph.D.,
President and Vice-Chancellor of Carleton University,
Ottawa

Thursday, April 24th, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: Dr. Claude T. Bissell, our guest speaker to-day, becomes President of the University of Toronto on 1st July next. We extend to him the warmest of welcomes and we would like him to know that we will be pulling for him when he assumes his new and larger responsibilities.

Claude Thomas Bissell, M.A., Ph.D., is a native of Meaford, Ontario. After attending primary and secondary schools in Toronto, he entered University College in 1932 with the Edward Blake Scholarship in English and History. He attained his B.A. by 1936 and, in 1937, his M.A. in English along with the award of the Cornell Fellowship in English at Cornell University, U.S.A., where, in 1940, he received his Ph.D. and the Messenger prize for graduate research. He remained at Cornell for an additional year as an instructor in English.

Coming back to Toronto in 1941, Dr. Bissell was appointed lecturer in English at University College and, in 1942, was granted leave of absence to go on active service with the Canadian Army. Proceeding overseas in July 1943 as a lieutenant, he was posted to The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada and served with them throughout the campaign in North-West Europe as a platoon commander, intelligence officer and, then, as captain and adjutant.

On demobilization in 1946, he returned to Toronto and was appointed Assistant Professor of English and Dean in Residence at University College. The following year came his appointment as Assistant to the President and, in 1951, as the result of Carnegie Foundation grant, he began a two-year study of universities in Canada, the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. In 1953 he became Vice-President of the University of Toronto. Then, on 1st July, 1956, he accepted the post of President of Carleton College, Ottawa. Two years later, to the day, Dr. Bissell is to return to the University of Toronto as its President.

Time Magazine, issue of 30th December last, said this: "When Vice President Claude Bissell left the University of Toronto to become president of Ottawa's young Carleton University, the undergraduate newspaper *Varsity* declared a day of mourning. Last week it was Carleton's turn to mourn. After 18 thriving months at Carleton, Claude Bissell accepted an offer to return (effective 1st July) as the new president of the University of Toronto. Said his predecessor president, External Affairs Secretary Sidney Smith: 'I can think of no one better qualified.'

"The qualifications Toronto's governors sought in a new president were shaped by the university's bold twelve-year plan, which will nearly double its size from the current enrollment of 13,000. Among 40 men originally on the governor's list, Carleton's Bissell is young enough at 41 to carry the expansion through, yet commands the experience and authority to be head of Canada's largest university."

Dr. Bissell will now speak to us on the subject: "The University and The City".

Gentlemen: Dr. Claude T. Bissell, President and Vice-Chancellor of Carleton University, Ottawa.

DR. BISSELL: It is an honour to speak to this association before which so many of the great questions of the day have been authoritatively raised and discussed. It is, I think, fortunate that your invitation reached me before

I officially assumed office at the University of Toronto. At this time, my convictions are not blunted by responsibility, and my remarks may make up in zest what they lack in soundness. Then I enjoy the fortuitous advantage of coming—in a technical sense at least—from another city, and if distance does not always lend enchantment, it may be a help to objectivity. Residence in another city is an educational experience: it breaks up old habits, extends the range of your interests, and generates new loyalties. All this is to the good, particularly, as some of my Ottawa friends have observed, for Torontonians. I have thoroughly enjoyed my two years in Ottawa, and will leave that city with regret, but with a pleasant feeling that I shall always feel at home there. Like a great many Canadians from larger centres, particularly from Montreal and Toronto, Ottawa had for me a shadowy existence; it existed either as a convenient concentration point for national assemblies and committees, or as a group of picturesque buildings pleasantly redolent of the past. Living in Ottawa changes your perspective. The city becomes a community located in the Ottawa Valley, with a tradition of genial informality and neighbourliness that the pomp and the circumstance of the national capital can never obscure. I should think that there is no capital city in the world where protocol presents a less forbidding appearance. Perhaps, indeed, Ottawa still exists more as a pleasant urban community than a capital city. It does not as yet provide an adequate mirror in which we see ourselves as a nation, and I am sure that visitors from Europe and the United States must draw unflattering comparisons between our capital city and the more splendid capitals of their native countries. The future of Ottawa is of concern to all Canadians, and I should hope that the plans for its development that were so spaciously conceived would soon be implemented.

The development of Ottawa has a special significance. It could become a national symbol—a projection of our hopes and aspirations. But to a lesser extent the same could be said of all our cities. It is curious that, although we have long since become an urbanized nation, our national dreams should have a spatial and bucolic quality, that we should turn our eyes always toward the unexplored and the unknown. This instinct is deep in our history, and it would be rash to ignore it; but it is well to remember that adventure and opportunity also await us in the areas of concentrated settlement. Our cities, some of them relatively ancient in terms of the development of this country, already have their peculiar characteristics, and they generate intense loyalties. Yet as a people we have been suspicious of urban display, and reluctant to symbolize our aspirations in conspicuous monuments.

I apologize for speaking in this didactic fashion before Torontonians, who have been steadily engaged since the end of the Second World War in the transformation of their city. One of the pleasures of frequent visits here during the last two years has been to notice changes, to see a new city emerging from the old. In this general expansion, the University takes its place, a not inconsiderable place, one that has been carefully articulated to the community that surrounds it. City and University are about to enter upon a new period of co-operation and association that began when the idea of founding a University at York first entered the mind of Governor Simcoe.

This partnership between City and University has an ancient and honourable lineage. The great medieval universities of France and Italy, from which all other universities have descended, were city foundations. On this continent, there have been notable breaks in the tradition. The idea of the small-town or rural university took root in the United States during the 19th century, possibly from a romantic and sentimental conviction that knowledge could best be pursued in the peace and beauty of a natural setting. Certainly many great universities grew and flourished away from large cities. In Canada this kind of university developed most readily in the Maritimes, although I have only to mention Queen's to remind you that the idea was not foreign to Ontario. But, in general, Canada has followed European precedents, and its universities have been founded in those centres where there was a concentration of trade, commerce, and population. They were not, however, wards of the cities. The municipal university, as it exists, for instance, in New York, did not develop in Canada. But the universities became, as it were, excellent citizens of the modern metropolis: with an informed interest in national and international affairs, but with a deep pride in the community in which they had been set down.

This partnership between city and university has been marked by minor irritations and some restiveness, but, on the whole it has been a happy one. If for no other reason, it would have been sustained simply as a key principle in town planning. This was particularly true in North America, where the idea of the campus—a green area separating the buildings and yet binding them into a unity—was incorporated into city universities. (Imagine, for instance, downtown Toronto without the oasis of the University campus and Queen's Park) And, on its side, the university gained from the proximity of the city, from the pleasant contrast between academic serenity and urban bustle, from the natural tendency for related cultural organizations—museums, art galleries, concert halls—to gather around the university.

As the university grew larger, and as it acquired a set of professional schools, it became something more than a pleasant and decorative citizen of the city. It became an unusually active one, participating with vigour in all branches of the community life. The range of the university contributions to the city life is truly formidable; I suspect that in Toronto even the Argonauts would recognize some indebtedness. One could dwell at length on the university simply as an economic unit, distributing money to its employees, enlarging the channels by which money is poured into industry and commerce. (I have no intention, however, of boasting about the size of the Toronto budget, since very shortly I shall find it necessary to point out that that budget is not adequate for the many complex and important tasks that have been assigned to the University.)

But these matters, important as they are, touch only on the outside of the relationship between university and city. The real importance of the university is that, through it, the city reaches out and becomes a member of an international community. The university is not the only factor here, but it is the chief one: it is the means by which the city transcends itself, throws off limitations of place and wealth, and arouses a response in the minds of men throughout the world. This takes place, of course, only for the great universities, the university where scholarship is given first place, and from which come books and discoveries that are known and honoured in halls of learning anywhere. The peculiar glory of Toronto is that, from its very beginnings, at a time when York was a crude frontier outpost, it conceived of itself as a university with unflinchingly high standards, that belonged, albeit humbly, in the company of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Trinity College, Dublin. The University still belongs to this imperial community, to which one would now add a number of great American universities: Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, California—to name a few. To all of us who work in the University this consciousness of citizenship in the first commonwealth of learning is a constant source of strength; students and graduates derive great satisfaction from it; but, in addition, I would submit that to every Torontonian, irrespective of the nature and extent of his education, the University should be a source of pride. Nowhere does a city find a more glowing symbol of itself than in the university that it has helped to nourish. I remember fondly a toast to the University of Toronto proposed by a Professor at the University of Melbourne when I was visiting that distinguished Australian foundation. "I propose a toast," he said, "to the first University in the Commonwealth." By "Commonwealth" he meant, of course, "the dominions beyond the seas", but the terms of reference still remain broad and impressive.

By reason alone of its high estate, there is placed upon the University of Toronto an obligation to maintain and to enhance the qualities that make for excellence. In his last Report as President of the University of Toronto, a report that is typically pointed and wisely reflective, Dr. Sidney Smith makes this observation: "If physical expansion involves academic deterioration, we ought not to enrol one extra student." Here in a capulse is the dilemma that confronts all Canadian universities, but that looms up most insistently, I almost said, most menacingly, at the University of Toronto: how do we preserve the University as a place of learning, scholarship, and research when it must adapt itself, during the course of the next few years, to doubled enrolment. It is true that the University of Toronto has certain built-in characteristics that will enable her to cushion the shock. The University of Toronto is not a great monolithic institution, an idea that one finds repeated with uninformed perversity. It is a federation, built not by logic and not for administrative convenience, but out of a respect for distinctive traditions and a devotion to humane learning. As we move into the crisis, we shall have more reason than ever to be grateful to the architects of federation. But even in their most extravagant imaginings, those architects never envisaged a University of 23,000 students—the number that we shall have by 1965, given the unimpeded operation of present factors. Is there not a possibility that we shall passively abandon ourselves to the wave of the future? Is there not a probability that, despite our sincere protestations, we shall lose the excellence that has made the University great? I think that there is, but I think also we can do something about it.

The minor step has already been taken—a long range plan for expansion. But this should be accompanied by immediate and vigorous steps to distribute more widely the burden of higher education in this metropolitan area. I personally welcome the exploratory measures already taken by a group of citizens that have as their goal the establishment of a second university in this area. The University of Toronto will gladly give advice, and will freely offer assistance; but I think it is important that the second university become, as rapidly as possible, a separate and distinctive foundation. There is nothing extravagant or bold in this. Montreal has three separate universities: the senior foundation of McGill, and two institutions that serve somewhat different constituencies: the University of Montreal, and Sir George William College. Even Ottawa, a city with less than one-fifth the population of Metropolitan Toronto, has two universities, Ottawa and Carleton. I can assure you that in Ottawa there is no sense of duplication in higher education, and that the presence of two universities, with distinctive traditions and complementary emphasis, is good for each university and good for the intellectual life of Ottawa. It is well to remember that universities also respond to the heady inducements of competition.

Under what sponsorship should this new university rise? I think it is well that it springs out of the energy and foresight of private citizens, as Carleton did some fifteen years ago. As to its eventual financial sponsorship, that should be, like all universities, diverse. I would hazard one suggestion: has the time now arrived in Canada for the establishment of a municipal university, and is not Toronto the appropriate place for its beginnings?

Since the point of great pressure and need will be in the area of general education in the Faculty of Arts, a new university would address itself primarily to this field, eventually entering the professional field at various points. This is sound educationally, and it will, in addition, enable the University of Toronto to continue to discharge its historic function as a leader in advanced undergraduate education and in graduate work. It would be a pity to see general education disappear from the Toronto curriculum; it would be an even greater pity to see it turn into mass education given by harassed and overworked teachers. We must at Toronto set aside more and more of our resources for our graduate school, already our third largest faculty, and with the widest responsibilities of any graduate school in Canada. Here is the key to intellectual power, increasingly the source of those who direct and guide our society, whether in the university class-room, in the scientific laboratory, in the civil service, or in business.

I am not suggesting any radical re-orientation of the University of Toronto. I am simply suggesting that it remain true to its historic mission and to the demands of the age. This will not mean withdrawal from the City; on the contrary, it will bring the University closer to the City by giving more justification than ever for community pride. We must not, under any conditions, lose our place in what I have called the "imperial community" of universities and drift, in a general haze of supine benevolence, into a large, impersonal institution whose chief boast is that is is the biggest in the Commonwealth.

I hope that the City, through its newspapers, its clubs, its associations, will take a vigorous interest in the University. Torontonians have a tendency to adopt an attitude of complacent acceptance towards their major assets, an attitude that arouses more irritation outside than frankly uninhibited boasting would. A university, no matter how well established, should never be taken for granted. In these days of the mobilization of brain power, the university and its fate should be a central concern of all of us. The University is not looking for garish publicity (although, unfortunately, it sometimes gets it.) What it wants is critical interest. We, on our side, will do all in our power to make the University known to you, to tell our story with the fullness and verve that it merits.

I have spoken of the university as a symbol that enables the city, in a sense, to transcend itself. It stimulates what is the finest kind of local pride, for it is a pride that has nothing about it of the parochial, or even of the provincial. Our universities are, indeed, microcosms of our national life. We have avoided in this country the class division that is so characteristic of universities in the United States, with, on the one hand, private universities, sustained by large endowments, and on the other state universities, sustained by governments, the former making up a self-conscious and condescending aristocracy. Our universities represent, in various degrees, the merging of the private and the public, of individual initiative and official government action. They are not institutions that have been created by official enactment, and then handed over to the public for their use. They are rooted in our instincts, our traditions, our aspirations, and they will wither and die if those roots are severed. Few universities draw upon more diverse resources than Toronto: on the traditions of the major religious bodies, on the intellectual heritage of Europe, on the enlightened concern of men in public life, on the disinterested devotion of business leaders in this community. But, at the same time, the University is set down in a particular place, in a City whose life she both reflects and transforms, and, as she enters a new era, she realizes that her life and the life of the City will, more than ever, be deeply intertwined.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Bruce J. Legge, First Vice-President of the Club.

REPORT AND ACCOUNTS

30th April, 1958

The President and Members of the Executive Committee,
The Empire Club of Canada,
Toronto, Ontario.

GENTLEMEN,

We have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, and have prepared and attach a Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year ended 30th April, 1958.

We report thereon as follows:—

Membership Fees:

We are satisfied that, in total, all 1957-58 fees receivable from Members on record as in good standing as at 30th April, 1958 have been accounted for.

The Life Membership Fees received during the fiscal year 1958 amounted to $150.00. The Executive Committee on 26th February, 1958 resolved that investment of these moneys in Government Bonds as required by the Agreement reached at a meeting of the Officers and Committee Members of the Executive held on 15th April, 1953 be deferred for consideration in the next Club year.

Membership Roll:

Following is a summary of the Membership Roll for the year:—

	Resident	*Non-Resident*	*Honorary and Life*	*Total*
Membership Roll as at 30th April, 1957	2,277	95	29	2,401
Net Increase or (Decrease)	56	1	1	58
	2,333	96	30	2,459

The Treasurer has certified that the Roll as at 30th April, 1958 contained 2,459 Members as above.

Payments:

All payments made during the year were authorized by the Executive Committee.

Liabilities:

Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague, President of the Club, has certified that there were no outstanding accounts as at 30th April, 1958.

Fidelity Bond:

Mr. W. W. Comber, the Treasurer, is bonded for $1,000.00.

Insurance:

Office furniture is covered by a fire insurance policy in the amount of $725.00.

Acknowledgment:

We express our appreciation of the courtesy and assistance extended to us during the course of our audit.

Reported by,

H. T. JAMIESON, LEMAY & COMPANY,
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS,
Honorary Auditors.

THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Receipts and Payments for the Year Ended 30th April, 1958

Cash on Hand and in Bank 30th April, 1957				$1,975.20
Current Receipts:				
Membership Fees		$11,944.00		
Proceeds from Sale of Year Book		10.50		
Interest—Bank	$ 80.20			
—Bonds	102.00	182.20		
Extra Contribution from Member		50.00	$12,186.70	
Current Payments:				
Luncheon Expense—net of proceeds of sale of tickets		$ 1,277.36		
Honoraria:				
Secretary	$800.00			
Treasurer	300.00	1,100.00		
Miscellaneous Expenses		144.52		
Music		260.00		
Printing, Stationery and Postage		3,634.83		
Printing 1956-1957 Year Book		4,353.74		
Recording and Publicity		410.90		
Rent		240.00		
Speakers' Fees and Expense		413.53		
Telephone and Telegraph		120.73	11,955.61	
Excess of Current Receipts over Current Expenditure				231.09
				$2,206.29
Life Membership Fees Received				150.00
Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1958				$2,356.29

We report that we have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 30th April, 1958 and have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and that, in our opinion, the above Statement shows correctly the Receipts and Payments of the Club for the year ended 30th April, 1958.

In addition to the Cash Balance of $2,356.29 the Club held at 30th April,, 1958 $3,400.00 Par Value Dominion of Canada 3% Bonds maturing 1st September, 1966.

At 30th April, 1958 the Club was committed to publish the 1957-58 Year Book at an estimated cost of $4,200.00.

H. T. JAMIESON, LEMAY & COMPANY,

Toronto, Ontario. Chartered Accountants,

7th July, 1958. Honorary Auditors.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1958-1959

Honorary President: FIELD MARSHAL THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL ALEXANDER OF TUNIS

Officers:

President: BRUCE J. LEGGE
First Vice-President: HAROLD R. LAWSON
Second Vice-President: ALEXANDER STARK, Q.C.
Third Vice-President: Z. S. PHIMISTER
**Secretary-Treasurer:* H. V. HEARST, Q.C.
Hon. Secretary: R. FORD RALPH
Asst. Secretary: DR. CLARENCE B. CRUMMEY
Hon. Treasurer: S. S. FLETCHER
Asst. Treasurer: JOHN W. GRIFFIN
Hon. Auditor: H. T. JAMIESON, F.C.A.

Executive Committee:

IAN BAXTER
ROYD E. BEAMISH
DOUGLAS BEST
JOHN L. BONUS
CONTROLLER F. JOSEPH CORNISH, Q.C.
MARVIN GELBER
HON. PAUL HELLYER
LT. COL. N. D. HOGG, M.B.E., E.D.
H. R. JACKMAN
J. PALMER KENT, Q.C.
A. J. LANGLEY
HOWARD S. MARK
J. B. MCGEACHY
DR. JAS. A. PARISH
BRIG. W. S. RUTHERFORD, E.D.
J. R. SMEED
R. BREDIN STAPELLS

Immediate Past President:

LT.-COL. W. H. MONTAGUE, O.B.E., E.D.

Past Presidents:

JAMES H. JOYCE
DR. C. C. GOLDRING
DONALD H. JUPP

*Appointed October 1st, 1958.

CONSTITUTION

INSTITUTED 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall consist of

(a) Active Resident Members,
(b) Non-Resident Members,
(c) Life Members,
(d) Honorary Members,
(e) Associate Members,
(f) Corporate or Sustaining Members.

All members must be of the full age of sixteen years, and members of classes (a), (b), (c), (d) and (f) must be British subjects.

Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Subject to sub-section 4 of this article Active Resident and Associate members shall pay an annual fee of $5.00 and Non-Resident members $3.00, payable on or

before the first day of October in each year. Payment of such fees shall entitle each member to receive a copy of the Year Book. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

(3) Associate members shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

(4) Members whose applications for membership are received after the first day of April in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from that time till the 30th day of September in the following calendar year.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $75.00 in one sum.

Honorary Members

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Corporate or Sustaining Members

Art. 5A—Any company, partnership or business organization shall be eligible for election as a Corporate or Sustaining Member. Applicants shall be proposed by two Active Resident Members of the Club in good standing and the application shall contain the name and position of the Officer nominated by the Applicant as its Candidate for membership. The Applicant and its Nominee shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee. A Sustaining or Corporate Member shall pay an annual fee of $50.00 which shall include the fee of its representative member.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second and Third Vice-President; an Honorary Treasurer, or a Treasurer, or both; an Honorary Secretary or a Secretary, or both; an Executive Committee which shall consist of the officers appointed under this Article and 17 other members, who, with the officers, shall be elected by ballot, and of the ex-officio members hereinafter mentioned. There may also be elected an Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer. Three Past Presidents together with the immediate Past President shall be the ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The election of Officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than April 30 of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. The Officers and Executive Committee then elected shall hold office until April 30th, of the following year, and thereafter until their successors respectively have been duly elected and installed. A Nominating Committee consisting of five members of the Executive Committee and four other members (this Committee shall select its own Chairman) shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and approved at a regular or special meeting of the Club not less than four and not more than six weeks before such Annual Meeting, due notice of such regular or special meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such Committee shall report to the Annual Meeting. If nominations do not exceed the number of the officers and members of the Executive Committee necessary under the

Constitution, the President shall instruct the Secretary to cast one ballot in favour of those so nominated and thereupon such persons shall be declared by the President to have been duly elected.

(3) An Auditor or Honorary Auditor shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:

(a) Budget and Finance Committee.
(b) Speakers' Committee.
(c) Membership Committee.
(d) Constitution Committee.
(e) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(f) Publicity Committee.
(g) Year Book Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the Officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly, if possible, from October to April, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. An audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year shall be published in the Year Book.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Nine members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year of the Club shall begin on the first day of May in each year and end on the thirtieth day of April in the year following.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two thirds majority vote of the members present.

MEMBERSHIP

as at April 30, 1958

LIFE MEMBERS

Bruce, Hon. Dr. Herbert
Clouse, F. L.
Cobham, Arthur H.
Cosens, Gordon G.
Eaton, Donald L. H.
Gardiner, F.G., Q.C.
Gibson, D. H., C.B.E.
Gordon, Crawford Jr.
Hough, Thomas Edward
Johnston, Wm. D.
MacKendrick, Col. W.G., D.S.O.
Maher, James P.
Murdoch, J. Y., Q.C., LL.D.
Ridley, John B.
Roman, Stephen B.
Rosen, Allen E.
Sandy, J.
Scythes, J. A.
Suchorab, S. A.
Thomson, Garth O.
Thomson, K. R.
Tindall, H. B.
Watkins, Wm. B.
Wilson, Col. J. E.

HONORARY MEMBERS

Field Marshall The Rt. Hon. Earl Alexander of Tunis

Cust, Col. Archer, C.B.E.
Geary, Major B. Handley, V.C.
Gillespie, Lt.-Col. George H.
Mackay, Hon. J. Keiller, D.S.O, V.D., LL.D.
Stapells, H. G., Q.C., M.A.

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

Alexander, R. W.
Bailey, B. W.
Ball, B. W.
Barber, John R.
Beatty, Dr. S. R.
Beaumont, Arthur
Beazer, Rev. F. C.
Begley, Geo. E.
Belyea, Abner B.
Bennett, J. H.
Bradley, Bruce H.
Bradley, E.
Butler, N. E.
Campbell, C. B.
Carleton, Dr. H. G.
Church, C. N., B.A.
Coppin, T. H.
Cornell, Charles R.
Corson, C. R.
Cranstoun, John A.
Davey, J. H.
Davidson, George MacK.
Davis, Cyril A.
Downer, Capt. the Hon. Rev. A.W., M.P.P.
Drew, Hon. Geo. A., P.C., Q.C.
Dunlop, J. Gordon
Dutton, B. A.
Fullerton, James John
Gilbert, C. A.
Grant, J. W.
Groom, R. G., Q.C.
Halbus, Prof. Frank
Hannon, Dr. J. W. G.
Harton, E. Douglas
Hill, Percy C.
Howsam, Air Vice Marshal, G. R., C.B., M.C.
Hubbel, Frank
Hughes, Gordon R.
Hunter, Lt.-Col. F. Fraser

Hutcheson, Frank W.
Hyde, F. C. W.
Jackson, George B.
Johnston, R. C.
Kennedy, A. P.
Kidd, Hon. T. Ashmore
Kimpton, J. R.
Koehn, Wm. F.
Legge, Rev. Garth
Leyden, C.
Lindsay, W. W.
Lough, Donald
MacDiarmid, Kenneth H.
MacKellar, J. F.
MacLennan, H. Alexander
Manbert, Ray R.
Marshall, Dr. M. R.
Mathews, C. K.
Maxwell, Rev. Gordon S., B.A.
McBain, Alex L.
McCall, Tom C.
McCrae, W. H.
McHardy, P. G.
McLaughlin, Col. R. S.
Mercer, Douglas A.
Mitchell, Robert N.
Moffat, John A.
Moller, George
Monsarrat, Nicholas
Morgan, James C.
Morrison, D. M.
Mulligan, Rev. William Orr, D.D.
Murison, R. A. J.
Newman, J. M., M.P.P.
Nixon, Stanley E.
Oakie, Alfred U.
Opie, R. P.
Ostrom, W. R.
Partington, Eric
Perry, John Wm.
Pollock, C. A.
Pugsley, T. Aubrey
Rackley, Frank B.
Raycroft, R. I.
Rice, H. E.
Rickwood, George
Rolland, Lucien G.
Scott, Wilfred R.
Sherk, Frank T.
Spooner, J. W.
Temple, G. H.
Thompson, E. F.
Thomson, J. R.
Todgham, R. W.
Wallace, H. C.
Watkins, David J., M.B.E.
Wilson, Thomas L.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

Abaroa, Enrique
Abbey, Robert
Abbs, Charles E.
Abel, John B.
Abernethy, Lt. Col. W. W.
Abra, J. S.
Acomb, S. R.
Adair, Herbert E.
Adams, G. W.
Adams, H. R.
Adams, J. C.
Adams, W. Bruce
Adamson, Edwin F.
Adamson, Walter
Agar, Norman E.
Ainsborough, F. J.
Airey, H. T.
Aitchison, R. J.
Alberts, Edgar T.
Aletter, Howard G.
Alexander, Lt. Col. P. Norman
Alexander, Robert
Algie, R. L.
Allan, A. David
Allan, Richard J.
Allanson, Harry E.
Allen, Ivan V.
Allingham, N. W.
Allworth, Robert D.
Ambridge, D. W.
Ambrose, Philip J.
Ander, J.
Anderson, C. Harry
Anderson, J. Murray
Anderson, J. P.
Anderson, Ross
Andrew, Archdeacon G. A.
Andrew, George C.

Angus, E. R.
Annett, D. R.
Anthony, R. F. K.
Appert, R. J.
Appleby, Robert C.
Appleton, C. N.
Archard, A. S.
Archbold, William D.
Argue, D. R.
Arkell, T. E.
Arminas, John
Armstrong, Col. Howard L.
Armstrong, Robert L.
Armstrong, W. E.
Armstrong, W. G.
Arnold, Harry A.
Ash, W. M. V.
Ashbury, Ivan H.
Ashby, V. W.
Ashforth, A. C.
Ashley, Sidney E.
Ashley, S. Wilfrid
Askin, R. J.
Assheton-Smith, J. E.
Atherton, C.
Atkins, R. Emroy
Atkinson, D. R.
Austin, J. Jarvis
Aylward, J. W.
Aymer, Thomas K.

Babbitt, G. W.
Babcock, Harold A.
Bacchi, Edward A.
Baggs, Rev. A. R., D.D.
Bagshaw, B. F.
Bailey, John Arnold
Bailey, William Gill
Baillie, Geo. H.
Bainard, R. H.
Baker, Albert G.
Baker, Col. E. A.
Baker, E. G.
Baker, G. H.
Baker, George W.
Baker, John R.
Baker, S. R.
Baker, Samuel H.
Balfour, Norman E.
Balfour, Vincent
Ball, J. R.
Bammer, Dr. W.
Band, Charles S.
Bankes, John M.
Banks, Benjamin
Barber, Orville B.
Barber, William
Barclay, D. F.
Barclay W. C.
Bark, W. A.
Barlow, Hon. Justice F. H.
Barnard, E. A.
Barrand, F.
Barrett, E. M.
Barrett, Franklin L.
Bartlett, Philip H.
Basher, Col. G. Hedley, O.B.E., E.D.
Bassett, John
Bastedo, E. A.
Bate, E. D.
Bate, William B.
Bateman, J. R. A.
Bates, Dr. Gordon
Bates, G. H.
Bates, William D.
Batten, Reg. A.
Bawden, H. N.
Baxter, Ian St. C.
Baxter, Major James, M.C.
Bealey, Ernest R.
Beamish, Royd E.
Beattie, L. S.
Beatty, D. S.
Beauroy, Jules
Bedolfe, Robert D.
Beeston, George H.
Begin, Douglas O.
Bell, Lt.-Col. Arthur A.
Bell, Cecil B.
Bell, Floyd
Bell, J. Donald, Q.C.
Bell, J. R.
Bell, Dr. Leslie
Bell, Norman B.
Bell, Stewart C.
Bellmore, Herbert J.
Belyea, Roy E.
Ben, George

Benitz, John
Bennett, A. B.
Bennett, David T.
Bennett, J. G.
Bentley, A. F.
Bentley, Ralph D.
Bentley, W. A.
Berceller, Oscar
Berkinshaw, R. C.
Berndt, Harry C.
Berner, W. G.
Berry, Harry H.
Berry, J. Wilson
Berry, Robert C.
Besley, E. H.
Best, C. S.
Best, Douglas W.
Best, F. M. S.
Best, Gordon H.
Best, T. Harrison
Best, T. W.
Betts, D. Clive
Bick, C. O.
Bickle, W. N.
Biggs, G. L.
Bilbrough, W. H.
Bird, S. J.
Birdsall, E.
Birge, Charles A.
Birkmyer, J.
Birrell, Dr. Russell G.
Bishop, H. H.
Bishop, Percy W.
Bishop, Samuel S.
Blachford, H. Arnold
Black, David
Black, James
Blackhall, Victor C.
Blackmore, O. Ralph
Blackwell, H. W.
Blackwell, Hon. Leslie E., Q.C.
Blainey, James E.
Blair, J. A.
Blair, S. M.
Blake, Parker G.
Blanchard, H. A.
Blenkinship, C. S.
Blue, M. F.
Bocock, C. W.
Boehm, A. Fred
Boland, John B.
Bolger, H. N.
Bolsby, P. J., Q.C.
Bond, H. B.
Bongard, Gordon R.
Bonnycastle, Lawrence C.
Bonus, John L.
Bonyun, Denis F.
Bookman, Fred
Booth, C. W.
Booth, E. H.
Booth, Gordon
Borins, Norman
Bosanquet, L. C.
Bosley, W. H.
Bosnell, G. M.
Bosworth, N. L.
Boughner, G. G., F.I.A.
Bourne, F. R.
Bourne, J. H.
Bourne, T. W. H.
Bowes, James C.
Bowlby, C. L.
Boyd, Ashley
Boyd, John A., Jr.
Boyd, LeRoy
Boyko, Joseph, LL.D.
Boyle, H. J.
Boyles, Thomas A.
Boysen, H.-C.
Bradbury, T. J.
Bradley, H. R.
Bradley, S. J.
Bradshaw, Alec.
Bradshaw, M. A.
Brain, George M.
Branson, C.
Brass, W. S.
Bray, R. N.
Breakey, B. I. F.
Breckenridge, R. J.
Breithaupt, Douglas L.
Brethour, E. J.
Brett, Harold O.
Breuer, K.
Bridges, Jack
Bright, J. S.
Brintnell, R. F.
Broad, Charles H.

Brockington, L. W., C.M.G., Q.C., LL.D.
Brocklebank, Frank
Brockwell, Meredith R.
Bronsdon, H. H.
Brooker, E. E.
Brooks, A. J.
Brooks, Dr. Clarence E.
Brooks, Herbert
Broomfield, George
Brown, Charles L.
Brown, Duncan G.
Brown, F. Irving
Brown, G. D.
Brown, George M.
Brown, Hugh E.
Brown, J. L.
Brown, James N. M.
Brown, J. Somerville
Brown, Murray
Brown, Ross N.
Brown, Ross S.
Brown, T. B.
Brownridge, E. K.
Bruce, A. W.
Bryce, Robert A.
Bryers, Brandon
Buchanan, Dr. Bruce H.
Buchanan, W. Wallace
Buck, Dr. C. A.
Budd, Edward B.
Bull, J. N.
Bullied, Arthur
Bullock, G. F.
Burbridge, O. J.
Burden, E. K. G.
Burden, John M., Q.C.
Burgess, Horace T.
Burka, MacDonald
Burkart, W. W.
Burke, E. T. C.
Burke, H. Gwynne
Burkimsher, Eric
Burn, Kenneth
Burnard, F. S.
Burnham, Arthur
Burnham, Dr. H. H.
Burnham, J. L.
Burns, Chas. F. W.
Burns, H. D.
Burns, James E.
Burns, Lesslie J. W.
Burns, R. L.
Burnside, E. G.
Burton, C. L.
Burton, E. G.
Burton, Lt.-Col. G. Allan
Burton, R. S.
Bush, Clayton E.
Bushnell, H. P.
Bushnell, Wm. J.
Buss, Capt. J.
Butland, Peter
Butler, W. Chester
Buyers, Russell W.
Byers, E. S.
Byrne, J. C.

Cadario, H. P.
Cadesky, L.
Cadsby, Jack David
Cadsby, Milton A.
Calder, B. R.
Calladine, Eric A.
Calvert, A. Morrison
Calvin, C. C., Q.C.
Cameron, E. Rodney
Cameron, Harry
Cameron, Robert C.
Cameron, Rev. Ross K.
Camken, L. A., M.B.E.
Campbell, Brig. Colin A.
Campbell, E. M.
Campbell, H. C.
Campbell, Dr. H. H.
Campbell, Ian L.
Campbell, Hon. Peter
Campbell, Paul J.
Canning, Harold A.
Cannon, Dr. C. F.
Cannon, C. J.
Caplan, Isadore
Cappe, N. R.
Cardy, A. Gordon
Carey, A. R.
Carl, Gordon A.
Carleton, W. J.
Carley, F. C.
Carlisle, D. C.
Carlo, John C.

Carnegie, A. D.
Carnegie, F. T.
Carnegie, Lt. Col. G. W., C.D.
Carr, E. P.
Carradus, Capt. H. R.
Carrick, Donald D., M.P.
Carrie, F. S.
Carriere, R. J.
Carscallen, H. M., Q.C.
Carson, C. E.
Carson, E. J.
Carson, James L.
Carson, R. B.
Carswell, Wm. F.
Carter, A. S.
Carter, F. H.
Carter K. LeM.
Cartwright, T.
Carver, R. D.
Cary, Len
Cary, Reginald
Case, Wm. E.
Cassels, Gordon T.
Cassels, W. P.
Casson, Richard
Caswell, D. B.
Cathcart, Rev. A. B.
Catto, James A.
Caulder, J. A.
Cavell, H. E.
Chadburn, T. W.
Chalmers, Floyd S.
Chambers, D. L.
Chambers, H. J. A.
Chambers, Joseph A.
Champion, R. H.
Chandler, David L.
Chapman, S. F.
Chappell, H. L.
Charles, Leo E.
Charlois, Maurice
Chenoweth, Dr. T. Oswald
Cherry, Robert
Chester, Lane R. C.A.
Chisholm, John
Chop, Edward M.
Chorlton, John M.
Christie, Col. J. H., M.C., E.D.
Christopher, W. H.
Church, John A.
Ciglen, Samuel, Q.C.
Clapperton, Gordon, S.
Clark, A. S.
Clark, Gavin C.
Clark, George F.
Clark, J. A. P.
Clark, John G.
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Macdiarmid, W. J. G.
MacDonald, Arthur A.
MacDonald, H. T.
MacDonald, Rev. A. J.
Macdonald, Charlton E.
MacDonald, J. B.
MacDonald, J. K.
MacDonald, Murdoch K.
MacDonald, N. B.
Macdonell, Rex B. G.
MacDougall, W. Murray
MacEachern, Gordon A.
MacFadyen, W. T. A.
MacFarlane, Donald A.
MacFarlane, Dr. J. A.
MacFarlane, W. S.
MacKay, Justice F. G.
Macintosh, J.M., Q.C.
MacKelcan, Fred R.
MacKenzie, B. R. P.
MacKenzie, D. Rae
MacKenzie, R. D.
MacKenzie, Wallace J.
MacKerrow, Robert
MacKersy, L. S.
Mackie, Ernest B.
Mackie, R. A.
MacKinnon, Angus P.
MacKinnon, Peter B. L.
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MacLean, C. W.
MacMillan, J. H. Ian
MacMillan, Dr. R. J.
MacMillan, William
Macnaughton, A. C.
Macphee, Norman
MacPherson, Donald S.
MacRae, John
Maddux, Percy
Maedel, Clare W.
Magee, E. D. B.
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Magwood, W. Marsh, Q.C.
Mainguy, Vice-Admiral E. R., O.B.E., C.D.
Male, W. Harold
Mancantelli, Robert J.
Mann, Major-Gen. C. Churchill
Manning, G. L.
Manning, J. R.
Mansfield, S. J.
Manton, Frank
Marchant, C. R.

Marchment, W. R.
Marcus, J. K.
Mark, Bernard B.
Mark, Howard S.
Markton, K. L.
Marley, Major E. H. M.B.E., T.D.
Marsden, G. R. C.
Marsh, Gordon F.
Marshall, Arthur L.
Marshall, C. C.
Marshall, Ernest A.
Marshall, E. H.
Marshall, George
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Marshall, G. Murray
Marshall, Hilary
Marshall, Col. K. R.
Marston, A. H.
Martin, A. S.
Martin, Dr. Ernest
Martin J. C.
Martin, Walter M., Q.C.
Martyn, H. L.
Mason, G. A.
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Mason, Wm. R.
Massie, Major J. H. C.
Massie, R. H. L.
Mateer, Ernest
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Matthews, A. Bruce
Matthews, Brig. F. Beverley, C.B.E., Q.C.
Matthews, Frederick J.
Matthews, James G.
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Maxwell, Frank D.
Maxwell, Martin
May, George E. I.
May, Otto E.
Maybee, W. E.
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Mayson, I. A.
Mayzel, Harry
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McAfee, Raymond E., C.A.
McAllister, R. A.
McAlpine, F.
McArthur, Major Hugh T.
McArthur, Melville H.
McAvoy, Louis Peter
McBain, Alex Mc.D.
McBride, Ernest W.
McCabe, V. J.
McCaffrey, E. R.
McCann, Fred V.
McCarthy, D'Alton
McCarthy, John
McCarthy, Leigh M.
McCartney, W. S.
McCaul, L. F.
McCausland, Gordon A.
McCausland, J. K.
McClatchie, John, C.A.
McClellan, L. A.
McClure, G. Chester
McColl, Hugh
McConnell, J. E. Jr.
McCordic, Malcolm C.
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McCormack, T. G.
McCraw, D. F.
McCready, Emmerson J.
McCrindle, J. A.
McCulley, Joseph
McCullough, J. L.
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McCully, Joseph E.
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McDonald, D. F.
McDonald, Peter
McDormand, Rev. Dr. T. B.
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McDowell, George
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McEwen, Gordon C.
McGaw, A. F.
McGeachy, J. B.
McGibbon, J. Ian
McGill, Cecil D. O.
McGillawee, Ross
McGillion, F. B.
McGillivray, Justice George A.
McGillivray, T. A.
McGinnis, Lt.-Col. J. A.
McGowan, L. J.
McGregor, I. R.
McGuigan, Dr. J. P.

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McHardy, R. A.
McIlmoyle, Austen B.
McInnes, John
McIntosh, Donald A.
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McKay, Cliff
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McKay-Clements, J. L.
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McLean, Hamilton A.
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McNair, F. A. R.
McNamara, John P.
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McNicol, J. A.
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Mess, Brigadier James
Messer, Harry W.
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Michell, C. A.
Michener, Hon. D. R., Q.C.
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Middleton, V. A.
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Morgan, Marcel T.
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Mudie, Hubert C. P.
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Murray, Major Gladstone
Murray, J. Grant
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Nicol, Frank J. K.
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Notzl, Paul
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Nunn, Herbert G., C.A.

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Oborne, J. Ross

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O'Donnell, Rev. B. A.
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Oldham, Victor
Oliver, P. W.
Olver, A. S.
Omand, J. N.
Omejer, Major Odegard
O'Neill, H. T.
Orliffe, Herbert
Ormonde, George E. B.
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Osborne, Col. J. Ewart
Osborne, Victor A.
Osbourn, A. J.
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Oulster, W. J.
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Ovens, G., D.F.C., C.P.A.

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Palmer, Frank W.
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Parke, G. M.
Parker, Hugh B.
Parker, John F.
Parkinson, R. M.
Parks, Capt. Arthur H.
Parnell, John A., O.B.E.
Parry, W. W., Q.C.
Parsons, Norman
Parsons, Robert C.
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Partridge, W. T.
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Paterson, E., C.A.
Paterson, James G.
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Patrick, Major H. E.
Paton, David S.
Paton, S. T.
Patten, Edward
Patterson, David S. L.
Patterson, Major W. E.
Pattison, Dr. C. L.
Pattison, E. W.
Paul, George
Paulson, M. T.
Payette, L. D.
Peachey, Edmund
Peacock, H. Charles
Pearce, N. C.
Pearce, Richard C.
Pearsall, C. F.
Peckover, George H.
Peever, K. Davis
Pelton, R. R.
Pemberton, Frank E.
Penaligon, J. H. C.
Pennington, Roy O.
Pepper, P. B. C.
Percy, J. L.
Perkin, I. B.
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Perrin, H. D.
Perry, A. E.
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Peter, Frank
Petersen, N. F.
Petrie, Albert R.
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Pettit, Holland Jr.
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Philip, William
Phillips, Edwin C.
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Phillips, Nathan, Q.C.
Phimister, Z. S.
Phipps, G. E.
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Pickering, E. A.
Pickup, J. D.
Pierce, Dr. Lorne
Pike, Harry A.
Pilarek, Paul
Pilis, C. F.
Pilling, Herbert
Pink, J. W.

Pitt, Arnold
Pittis, Paul R.
Plain, B. E.
Plantner, J. F.
Playfair, S. B.
Plowman, Hugh V.
Plummer, Douglas
Pollock, Harry J.
Pomeroy, R. H.
Poole, C. H.
Poole, W. J.
Porter, Hon. Dana H.
Porter, Donald S.
Porter, J. D., B.COM., C.A.
Porter, W. G.
Potter, Raymond E. S.
Potts, John A.
Poulson, Andrew
Pounsett, F. H. R.
Powley, B.
Powley, H. L.
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Poyntz, A. R.
Pratt, Prof. E. J.
Pratt, J. P., Q.C.
Pratt, W. J.
Prentice, Magistrate John L., Q.C.
Prentice, Victor F.
Prentis, E. D.
Prest, Stanley V.
Price, Roland A.
Price, Lieut.-Col. W. H.
Priddle, Roger
Prince, H. R.
Prior, Donald R.
Prior, Rev. Wm.
Pritchard, H. S.
Proctor, J. E.
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Proverbs, C. I.
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Pullan, Harry
Purcell, Gillis
Purdy, Dr. Vernon W.

Rabnett, Basil
Radcliffe, N. D.
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Raitblat, David
Ralph, George W.
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Ramey, P. Alex.
Ramsay, Victor R.
Randall, H.
Rankin, Donald G.
Rankin, Lt.-Col. G. A., D.S.O., E.D.
Ransom, A. C.
Rapmund, J. L.
Rardon, N. C.
Rawson, Clark M.
Rawson, George H.
Ray, Louis W.
Rea, Charles E.
Rechnitzer, E. V.
Rector, Luther G.
Reddrop, F. O.
Redford, Wm. J.
Redrupp, R. J.
Reeb, H. E.
Rees, S. L.
Reeves, E. H.
Regan, Major N. H., M.B.E., C.D.
Reid, Dr. H. W.
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Reid, Morgan
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Rendall, S. D.
Reynolds, Lt.-Col. W. B. G.
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Ribchester, Joseph P.
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Richards, Roland W.
Richardson, B. T.
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Richardson, H. Banning
Richmond, Frank
Rickard, W. Paul
Rickey, C. L.
Rickey, H. R.
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Ridge, Dr. F. Gerald
Ridout, G. H.
Riley, Very Rev. Dean
Riley, Herbert
Ripley, T. S.
Ritchie, Gen. Sir Neil
Ritchie, Robert T.

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Roberts, Harold E.
Roberts, J. H.
Roberts, L. V.
Robertson, C. S.
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Robinson, Bertrand G. W.
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Robinson, R. W.
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Robinson, W. G. W.
Robinson, W. W.
Robson, J. A.
Roche, David J.
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Roelofson, E. C.
Roger, O. B.
Rogers, A. W., M.C., Q.C., D.C.L.
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Rogers, H. A.
Rollason, W. E.
Rolph, F. Grenville
Romani, H. S.
Ronan, Rt. Rev. J. E., D.P.
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Rooney, Anthony C.
Rooney, J. H.
Roost, G. H.
Rosborough, T. H.
Rose, Edmund S.
Rose, J. W. Jr.
Ross, D. A.
Ross, Ian
Ross, J. Allan
Ross, John T.
Ross, M. C. C.
Rossall, J. S.
Rotenberg, Harry I.
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Rowland, G. A.
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Rowntree, H. Leslie
Roxborough, E. L.
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Royse, C. F.
Ruse, Edward
Russell, Norman E.
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Rutherford, Robt. C.
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Rutledge, John J.
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Rydgren, Odd

Sablin, Wm. R.
Sadowski, B.
Sager, Elmer
Sakamoto, Hideo
Sale, R. M.
Salmon, C. R. B.
Salmond, E. G.
Samson, Gerald
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Samuel, Sigmund, LL.D.
Samwell, H. G.
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Sanderson, Horrell
Sarjeant, Dr. P. A.
Saunders, Edward
Saunders, Earl T.
Saunders, Leslie H.
Saunders, Sydney B.
Savage, A. D.
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Savage, Thomas L.
Sayle, Wm.
Schalk, D. J.
Scheff, Maxwell M.
Scherer, Joseph
Schlesinger, Emil E.
Scott, Ernest W.
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Sculthorpe, A. G.
Scythes, E. C.
Seabrook, V. M.
Seagram, J. W.
Seale, Leslie H.
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Sears, Paul
Seccombe, N. M.

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Secord, J. P.
Sedgwick, Joseph, Q.C.
Seitz, E. Burke
Selby, F. Reg.
Self, R. Harvey
Seltzer John
Service, R. R.
Sewell, Ralph E.
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Shakespeare, W. C., C.A.
Sharp, Andrew B.
Sharpe, Len. B.
Shave, J. W. G.
Shaver, Edward B. H.
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Shepley, A. J.
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Shiner, Irwin
Shipp, E. J.
Short, Rev. John
Shurtleff, H. S.
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Sigsworth, Oscar T.
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Smith, E. V. Campbell
Smith, D. M. A.
Smith, Rev. Canon F. A.
Smith, Harold
Smith, Harry F.
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Smith, Isadore
Smith, J. Duncan
Smith, J. Herbert
Smith, K. B.
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Smith Richard Routledge
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Smith, S. E. V., C.A.
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